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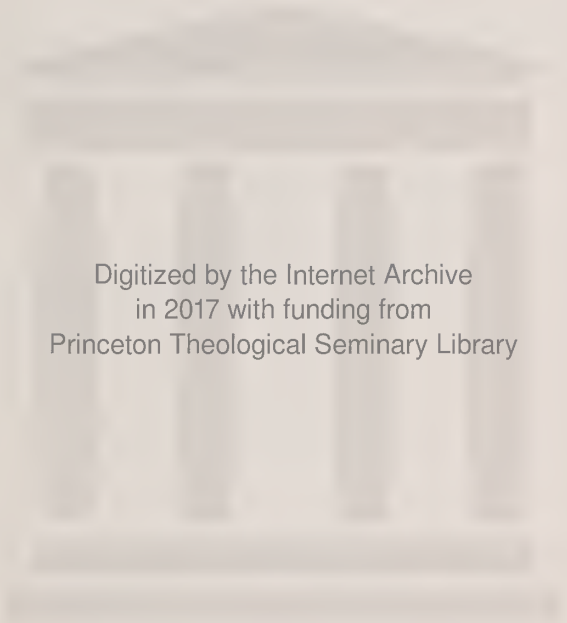
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**BIBLICAL REPERTORY.**

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A

**Collection of Tracts**

IN

**BIBLICAL LITERATURE.**

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BY CHARLES HODGE,

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE, IN THE THEO-  
LOGICAL SEMINARY, AT PRINCETON, N. J.

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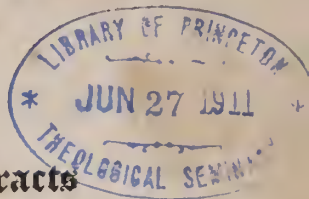
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VOL. III.

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# BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

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## BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

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THE STATE  
OF  
**THE PROTESTANT CHURCH**  
**In Germany.**

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BY THE  
REV. HUGH JAMES ROSE, M. A.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND VICAR OF HORSHAM, SUSSEX.

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## DISCOURSE IV.

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ISAIAH XLVII. 10.

*Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee.*

HAVING now laid before you a sketch, though a very rapid and imperfect one, of the progress of the naturalizing school in Germany, it may perhaps appear right and necessary, that some account should be likewise offered of the effect of their doctrines. For it will be said, that such doctrines could hardly be taught by the public instructors of youth, and by the public preachers of, at least, the more remarkable towns in a country so filled with them, without producing great changes in men's opinions on the value of religion, and by consequence, great changes in moral conduct. But the task thus imposed would be one of great difficulty and danger. Nothing can be more rash, more improper, more unchristian, than lightly to bring forward sweeping charges of a want of morality. To judge with accuracy indeed of the tone of public morality in one's own country, is neither an easy, nor trifling matter; and to judge of its state in another, requires a mass of evidence, so great in extent, and so precise and particular in its nature, as can in very few instances be hoped for. The great variety of national character and disposition, must always be taken largely into account in weighing the practical effect of opinions, and an accurate knowledge and judgment of this preliminary step, presupposes the greatest nicety of observation, the widest extent of observation. The evidences as to the real state of things to be found in

the narration of the passing traveller, mistaken frequently, perhaps, as to facts, and still more mistaken as to the fair inference to be drawn from them, can be of little avail. But still something may perhaps be gathered from an union of the probabilities of the case, with such positive evidence as may actually exist. And as to the probability of the case, it will not, I think, be a rash judgment to say, that the constant collision of very wild opinions, very wildly produced and defended, would at length either so entirely weary the mind, as to leave little feeling on the subject so strong as an entire repugnance, or at least indifference to the farther agitation of the question; or it would beget a strong feeling of hatred to the principle of these opinions and discussions, and a violent adherence to some opposite and counteracting ones. And the two effects which appear probable, have really occurred. As to the existence of a widely-spread indifference, I may appeal to the German divines themselves.\* They have published a very large

\* Bretschneider has published a pamphlet on this subject, called *Ueber die Unkirchlichkeit dieser Zeit*, (Gotha, 1822.) (which I have already mentioned), in which he says that *so many have been published* that he doubts if any thing new can be said. Some of his statements are very strong on the subject. He thinks that the indifference began after the seven years' war (p. 2.), and I have little doubt myself, that in considering the religious state of Germany at more length than I have been able to do, the distracted state of the country during so large a part of the two last centuries, must be taken into the account, as very unfavourable to the cause. But (p. 3.) he states that this indifference is spread among all classes, that (p. 4.) the Bible used to be found in every house—that very many made it a law to read a chapter every day, or at least every Sunday; that it must have been a very poor family, where a Bible was not a part of the marriage portion, but that now, very many do not possess one, or let it lie neglected in a corner—that (p. 5.) now hardly one-fifth of the inhabitants of towns receive the Sacrament, or confess—that few attend the churches, which are now too large, though fifty years ago they were too small—that few honour Sunday, but that many make it a day for private business, or for work; and (p. 9.)

number of treatises, containing loud complaints of the total indifference existing towards all religious considerations. And it is very remarkable, that in many instances, these complaints come from those very persons who have been foremost in producing the mischief. They who have been most eager in rejecting all that is positive in religion, are surprised that men have become careless as to the negative part which they have left. There is also another fact which appears to indicate this indifference in no inconsider-

that there are now few students in theology, compared with those in law or medicine; and that if things go on thus, there will shortly not be persons to supply the various ecclesiastical offices. He tries to prove, that the new fancies of the Rationalists had not produced this indifference, for he asks (p. 47.) whether citizens and merchants ever read learned disquisitions; but here Tittman, (p. 330.) directly contradicts him, and bears positive testimony, that there were *popular books* in plenty, exhibiting these new notions; and that the critical journals spread a knowledge of them also—especially the *Allgem. Deutsch. Bibliothek*. He positively testifies also, that the consequence was distrust and suspicion of the doctrines of Christianity, among all classes; and an entire indifference to religion. Preaching had fallen into entire contempt, partly from the dreadfully low rate at which the preachers were paid, whence they were looked on with contempt, and could not of course be persons of education. Bretschneider is very loud also on this subject—and complains bitterly of the endeavours to deprive the clergy of all their rights, and impose duties not their own upon them. This has been confirmed to me by private information, with respect to the clergy of the north of Germany, where they were compelled often to add to their scanty income by farming in a small way, and where they constantly associated with the farmers. But to return to Bretschneider; he confesses (p. 49, and following,) that some preached on the Rationalist doctrines but only contends that all did not do so; and Tittman tells us that some of the more orthodox preachers, very injudiciously in his opinion, attacked these new notions from the pulpit. Within sixty years, Bretschneider says, (p. 50.) the sermons have changed very much; and in contents, tone, and form, have followed the spirit of the age. They seem to have done so with a witness, from what he says in p. 49. for it thence appears, that many instead of preaching



able degree ;\* namely, the singular union which has lately taken place between the Calvinistic and Lutheran denomi-

on the doctrines of Christianity, betook themselves to the more useful subjects of politics and agriculture,\* &c. But all this alteration in preaching was the effect, he says, not the cause of the disimelination to the church ; for when the preachers found that the old doctrines would not attract the people, they betook themselves to the new.

I subjoin some books on the subject of the lately-prevailing indifference. Hoffman Ein Wort ueber die herrschende Irreligiositaet Berlin, 1804. Schleiermacher Ueber die Religion, Reden, &c. 2d ed. Berlin, 1806. and Zwei unvorgreiflichen Gutachten in Sachen des Protest. Kirchenwesens. Berlin, 1804. Boll Von dem Verfall und der Wiedersherstellung der Religiositaet (2 vols. Neustrelitz, 1809.†) Ueber das religioese und Sittliche Verderben unsers Zeitalters, von. J. M. R. Biberach, 1805. Flugge Hist.-krit. Darstellung des Einflusses der Kantischen Philos. vol. I. p. 45, and following.

\* I ought to say, that some friends, for whose judgment I have the highest respect, differ with me entirely on this point ; and in consequence of their dissent, I have reconsidered the subject with all the attention in my power, but cannot arrive at any other conclusion than my former one. I cannot think, that the difference between the Calvinists and Lutherans, would be regarded as so trifling and unimportant as to justify a total inattention to them in an union, on the hypothesis assumed by those who differ from me, that the doctors of

\* It is to this, I suppose, which Schelling alludes in his Akademische Vorlesungen [though he rather speaks of what *must* be, than what is the consequence of these new doctrines] when he says, ‘the preachers must be at various times, farmers, physicians, and every thing else, and not only recommend cowpock from the pulpit, but teach their flocks how to choose the best kind of potatoes.’

† I have seen an extract in Hohenegger, from this work, which seems too rich in absurdity, even for a Rationalist. The good priest must surely misrepresent Boll, when he makes him say, after speaking of the eternal duration of punishments, that if Christianity should be got rid of, *which seems likely*, men must labour not to let such absurd ideas get into the new religion, which will be established ; and that this would be no evil for real religion, and its necessary ideas, but rather an advantage, as these must gain by the fall of false religion, and a true one would be built on the ruins of superstition.



nations. However desirable unity may be (and, assuredly, it is one of the first blessings which a church can enjoy) it is too dearly bought, if bought at the expense of any essential principle of faith. Now in the case mentioned, no article of belief indeed was sacrificed on either side, because

each persuasion were not indifferent to their peculiar opinions. If we look, for example, to the doctrine of *absolute decrees*, practically perhaps in Germany, as I believe is the case in Scotland, that tenet was so softened down, that there might be no perceptible difference in the public teaching of the parties. If the Calvinists then would do in theory what they do (on this supposition) in practice, namely, renounce that doctrine, at least in its most offensive shape, there could be no further objection to an union on this point; but if they persisted in retaining the expression of it, and thus affording an opportunity to future enthusiasts to sow the seeds of discord by the recurrence to a doctrine (especially calculated to call forth active opposition) as never disavowed by the church, I cannot think, that Lutherans who had any regard for their own opinions, would assent to the union. Again had either party really thought *any* doctrines matters of consequence, they would surely have dreaded the effect of such an union on the laity, who could not but conclude, if they saw men, who differed so widely, and were sincere in that difference, yet uniting to form one common church, that doctrines were altogether mere speculative matters, and of no consequence in the formation of a Christian temper and disposition, or a Christian state of knowledge. The mischief of such a belief will far outweigh any good, which can arise from either the prevention or the cure of schism, desirable as such an end must be. But that end can, I think, be properly promoted only by the renunciation of error, except in minor matters, and not by throwing every positive doctrine into the shade, till there can at last be no reason, why heretics, Jews, and infidels should not alike range themselves under the banners of a new and generalized religion. The inculcation of a different opinion is, I think, a strong objection to the work of Dr. Hey, a name which cannot be mentioned without respect, as long as extensive learning, and the most candid and Christian spirit can command it.

The subject here brought into notice, is too extensive for a note; for it, in fact, includes the whole question of the propriety of articles of faith, and their limits. In the especial case before us, I think they who turn to any of the late writers, will be convinced that my theory

the principle of union was, that there should be no discussion of points of faith. The union consists merely in a community of churches and of ministers, and an indiscriminate reception of the sacraments at the hands of these ministers.\* But when we remember how very essential

does them no injustice. When indeed I find Wegscheider saying, (p. 431.) that on the subject of *absolute decrees*, one party has just as good ground in Scripture as the other, though one of course is necessarily false—and presently after giving it as his own opinion, that both are so—when I find him, though a Lutheran, asserting (p. 509--11.) that Luther's idea as to the communion was false, and (p. 517.) lowering that sacrament not only below the notions of his own, but below those of the reformed churches, making it only a rite for keeping up a memory of Christ, and a remembrance of his doctrine and death, and for confirming men in their resolution to lead a good life, and even die for the truth, I cannot doubt as to his indifference to the belief of his own church --and when I know that a very slight attention to the various works of his party will show, that these are very general opinions, I cannot feel that I have done injustice to them in citing this union in confirmation of my statement.

\* From a book called 'an Autumn near the Rhine,' it appears that the method pursued is such as to amalgamate the two methods followed by the opposite parties. The Lutherans were accustomed, like the catholics, to use a small wafer, whole; the Calvinists bread, which they broke. They now use in common a large Lutheran wafer, which is broken like the Calvinistic bread, p. 412. (ed. 1818.)

It is curious however that Wegscheider, (p. 516.) though a Lutheran, recommends the 'use of common and esculent bread, which should be broken into bits, instead of the wafers which under a barbarous name came into common use in the western church, in the course of the eleventh century.'

I cannot but observe that the clever author of the 'Autumn near the Rhine' has formed the same conclusions as myself. 'The animosity of doctrinal differences,' he says, which thirty years ago denied to the reformed at Frankfort a place of worship in the town—*having now subsided into the most quiescent apathy*, this amalgamation of forms was all that remained to be done.' My readers may perhaps wish to know in what part of Germany this union has been effected. Wegscheider (p. 520.) mentions parts of Prussia, the grand duchy

these two professions of faith vary, it must be evident that such an union can only have been effected by an entire indifference on each side to the peculiar tenets of its founder. Without noticing the other differences, great as they were, when we remember that on the important question of the corporal presence, these two churches differ almost as widely as we do from the Romish, it is obvious, that only indifference to their own tenets on the part of the Lutherans, could have induced them to communicate with the Calvinists, and only a persuasion of that indifference could have induced the Calvinists to enter into bonds of union with those who held what was, or ought to have been, in their eyes, a very serious corruption of the purity of the Christian doctrine.

On the other hand, the doctrine of the naturalizing party certainly produced very strong and serious disgust. Indeed, it was impossible to suppose, that the mischief which such doctrines must do, should not be deeply felt and deplored by all who were yet real Christians, who were preserved by stronger principles, and wider views of truth. But, however much inclined to rally in support of the good cause, the unhappy state of the German church, its total want of any centre of union, and of any (practically) definite system of doctrine, afforded them no opportunity of union and combination of force ; and each advocate of religious truth was consequently left to defend it in his own way. Now religion was suffering both in her objective and subjective character, both as an external theory of faith, and a practical amender of the heart. On the one hand, almost every dogma had been either altered or destroyed ; and on the other, the practical part of religion was nullified by the subtilty of philosophical reasoning. In a better

of Nassau, the principality of Hainau, the part of Bavaria to the west of the Rhine, the duchies or counties of Anhalt-Bernberg, Waldeck and Pyrmont, grand duchies of Baden, and of Hesse-Darmstadt.

constituted church then the powers of theological erudition on the one hand, would have been expended in defending the orthodox system of doctrine, and on the other, an appeal would have been made to the affections of mankind, in favour of the guide of their lives, the friend of their youth, their manhood, and their age. But although some of the sounder theologians,\* especially Storr, certainly

\* Let me again here bear my testimony to the high merits of Storr, whose school has been of the highest service in Germany, nor must I omit to mention the respectable names of Reinhardt and Staendlin. Krummacher, again, Luecke, Tholuck (though he is somewhat enthusiastic) and Winer, have expressed their horror at the system. Meyer, Kelle, Hunly, and many writers in the Magazine of Flatt and Suesskind, and the latter writer himself, have all opposed parts of it.\* The writer in the archives, to whom I have before referred, gives a long list of other names as opponents of the system, to some of whom I must demur. Thus he names *Bretschneider*, who has attempted to destroy the authenticity of St. John's gospel, and who is very frequently in his other writings any thing but orthodox.

Some of the metaphysical writers have lately also enlisted themselves on the side of Christianity. Koeppen, in his *Philosophie des Christenthums*, (Leips. 1813.) vol. II. p. 30. has attempted to show the truth of the doctrine of Original Sin on philosophical grounds. A celebrated physician of Leipsic, Dr. Heinroth, has annoyed the rationalists dreadfully, (see the *Allg. Lit. Zeit.* for Oct. 1823. No. 270.) by a treatise on *Anthropology*, in which his views of the intellectual and moral part of man are entirely at variance with them, and in unison with the orthodox notions. The masterly nature of the work, and the high reputation of the author, were equally subjects of annoyance with the Rationalists. There is a work called *Revelation und Theologie* by Boeshammer, and one called *Die Religion und die Theologie* by C. G. Schmid (Stutg. 1822.) of which the writer in the archives speaks very highly.

\* It is so common to find Rationalist writers oppose one another even on points of importance, that one must not be hasty in ascribing orthodoxy to a writer merely because he is violent on particular occasions against anti-orthodox principles. Thus Gabber, who is at times quite as offensive as any of these writers, is furious in the *Neuestes Theol. Journal*, vol. IX. p. 285. against Paulus's method of explaining away some of the miracles.

maintained the old and orthodox principles, with great zeal, the greater number of those who opposed the Rationalists, appear to have considered some parts of the ancient system incapable of defence, and in others, to have dreaded the evils of protracted controversy. Dismayed by the actual evils which surrounded them, they desired to obviate them by any means; and as they were aware that in Semler's school, the commencement of this change of theoretical views had arisen from a desire of assisting the cause, and establishing the superiority of practical religion, they judged, it seems, that the same road should be pursued in defending the ancient faith, which had been followed in attacking it. They, therefore, made their appeal to the feelings and the heart; and such an appeal in such a cause, can never be in vain. But then, the feelings of an individual in favor of neglected religion, may act with respect to others, or to himself. They may rouse him like the Baptist to pour forth the fervor of his indignation on them who had forgotten their God, and attempt the restoration of his neglected worship; or they may impel him in despair at the sight of all around him, to retire within his own bosom, and in the indulgence of mystic meditation to enjoy, at least *within*, the religious excitement which he seeks in vain without. The latter was the course of many of the Germans. They resigned themselves to religious meditation, and to that fascinating dream of the mystics in all ages, the notion of an union with God, and an immediate perception of the truths of religion. In truth, as I observed in my first discourse, the open denial of all value of the reason is the constant, and from the very construction of the human mind, the necessary consequence of the reason's asserting her authority out of her own sphere. History, in fact, testifies to this great truth. The age which produced the scholastic philosophy, produced also one of the earlier schools of mystical theology. And so when the cold and scientific school of Wolf had perhaps sown the



first seeds of the rationalizing philosophy which sprung up afterwards, and the fruit was an attempt to tear away all religion by heartless reasonings, the heart and feelings were effectually roused, and the aversion from these proceedings showed itself in an entire resignation of the whole being, to the dominion of the feelings and senses, in short, to absolute mysticism. And this feeling was nourished in the less-informed class of society, by the constant circulation of enthusiastic tracts,\* either original or translated: in the higher class, by the reigning systems of philosophy of the age.† Any general inquiry into those schemes of philosophy would be a subject of far too difficult and extended a

\* Many of these were translations from the trash circulated in this country, by the enthusiasts in and out of the church. Borger says, (*De Mysticismo*, p. 82.) with some wonder, that the society of Basle in 1814 published 34000 copies of these tracts. What would he have said of our proceeding in England?

† I had resolved to give here a compressed sketch of the three systems of philosophy prevalent in Germany as far as they regard religion, such as might have at least done somewhat less injustice to them than the very brief notice in the Discourses, but after entering on it. I found it must extend to such a length as is not consistent with the limits of a note. I am however persuaded that they who will take the trouble of perusing Professor Borger's treatise *De Mysticismo*, or at least the chapters in Madm. de Stael's works on this subject, will be convinced that although it was assuredly not the design of the two first systems to promote *mysticism*, there were many elements in them which favoured it. Of the third, it is unnecessary to speak. But I must here mention some views both of Kant and Schelling, which, beyond all doubt, tended to foster the spirit of innovation and rash proceedings with scripture.

In Kant's book on Religion, he takes up the cause of Scripture, and expresses himself in terms of respect and anxiety for the ancient and orthodox belief. But it must be evident to any one who attends to it, that when he speaks of original sin, of redemption, and the other parts of the Christian scheme. he merely retains the words and attaches quite new meanings to them. Then, to make his theology agree with Scripture, he recommends an entirely new system of moral

nature ; but we may observe, that the two first systems so far at least prepared the way for mysticism, that they re-

interpretation, as he calls it. This is his account of it.\* ‘To unite the foundations of a moral faith with empiric faith, (be it an end or only a means,) an exposition of the revelation handed down to us is required; that is, such an interpretation as agrees with the common practical rules of a pure religion of reason. For the theoretic part of church faith cannot interest us morally, unless it act for the fulfilment of all human duties which make the essential part of religion. This interpretation may often appear forced, when we look at the text, and *sometimes may be so*; and yet, if it is possible that the text admits it, it must be preferred to such a literal one, as contains nothing absolute for morality, or works almost in opposition to its motives. It will be found that such has always been the case with all old and new faiths, partly drawn up in books. Nor can such interpretations be accused of dishonesty, supposing that it is not maintained that the sense we give to the symbolical books, and even to Scripture, was entirely in their view, but that this is undecided; and that only the possibility of their having this sense is asserted. For even the reading the Scripture, or inquiring about its contents, has the aim of making men better. The historical part which does not contribute to this, may be dealt with as people please.’ In one word, we are to find out what he thinks a good moral sense of Scripture, and make the words of Scripture agree with it by the most violent straining of its meaning. There are some very sensible remarks on this subject in Schroeckh, vol. VII. p. 630, in which the entirely arbitrary nature of this theory is shown; and that at best it should be called an *applicatian* not an *exposition* of Scripture. There was a warm contest, as appears from Schroeckh, whether this *moral* sense, as Kant called it, was not merely a mystic, or allegoric sense; and for this side of the question Bauer declared himself. I recommend his chapter on the subject to the reader’s attention. (Bauer’s edition of Glass’s Phil. Sacr. vol. II. Sect. 2. Part 1. Sect. 1. §. 10.) The very discussion of such an interpretation shows sufficiently that the value of Scripture was entirely fallen: for whatever name might be given to the interpretation, it meant in fact only that Scripture was to be adapted to Kant’s views, and there was therefore no reason why it should not be so to those of any other philosopher. Hohen-

\* Kant. Die Religion innerhalb der Graenzen der blossen Vernunft, Königsberg, 1793. p. 150.

moved all objective arguments for religion, and substituted more subjective ones. I mean not, that these two systems *intentionally* promoted mysticism. But the first of these systems, when in its inquiries as to the limits of human knowledge, it bounded all our knowledge to the sensible world, and denied to man all knowledge of the intellectual world, at least, did this: it denied almost all power to theoretic reason, and it built our knowledge of God, of our moral liberty, and of a future life, not on reason, but wholly on a practical faith, founded on our moral constitution. Even they who opposed the full extent of the principle

egger, in fact, in a book which I have often referred to, attributes the whole of the Rationalist horrors to Kant, but this arises merely from Hohenegger's own ignorance; for Kant's book on religion was not published till 1793, and his first work not till 1781, nor did it attract my attention for some time after its publication, while I have sufficiently shown the far earlier rise and establishment of many of the Rationalist doctrines.

Schelling in his *Vorlesungen ueber die Methode des Akademischen Studiums*, (Tubingen. 1803.) has animadverted, and I think with great justice, on the *philosophy* of Kant's view, though his own is not at all more satisfactory. His two lectures on the Historical Construction of Christianity, and the Study of Theology, are most extraordinary; but in the most violent opposition to the Rationalist doctrines, against which he expresses himself with great energy and beauty. The Rationalists he compares to the unhappy beings whom Dante describes in the foreground of the mansion of woe, rejected by heaven, but not received by hell; not spiritual, but unbelieving; not pious, and yet not partakers of the frivolous wit of the infidel.

He seems to think, that what we call Christianity is, in fact, far older; that, to use his own phrase, it existed before and out of itself, but that a *more distinct manifestation* of its spirit took place in what we call the commencement of the system. He divides religion into two great branches, the one, which reigning in the Indian religions has handed down the highest Idealism, and the other containing the germs of the system opposed to it. The first after going through the East, found an abiding place in Christianity. The other has in the Greek Mythology, through an union with the *ideal* of art, produced perfect beauty.



would probably be led to grant that it was in part true, and would thus be induced to take a more frequent and anxious inspection of that practical moral principle, said to be situated in their own nature—a step assuredly in nearer relation with the cultivation of the feelings, than with that of the reason. And others, who felt themselves obliged to give up many of their old grounds for certain principles, were unwilling to relinquish the firm belief with which they held the principles themselves, even independently of revelation. If no reasoning could prove the existence of a God; that is, if reason has no right to transgress the limits of that sensible world, which according to this system bounds all our knowledge, and to introduce an intelligible author of this fair show of earth and sky, the senses, the feelings, would do it in defiance of the reason, and the very reposing so important a truth on the mere authority, was another, if not necessary, at least, probable, step to mysticism. But although this system said that we could not know what God was, it still recognised a separation of God from the world and from man. Now the succeeding system went much farther, and contended that a providence, or moral order of things, had no existence separate from our moral nature. Without judging of the ulterior tendency of these notions, or charging on their author that atheism, which he so strongly disclaimed, it is obvious, that such a doctrine, if received unsuspectingly, certainly leads to mysticism, because it leads to the foundation of all mysticism, the notion of an union with God, an union so strict that his very existence is inconceivable to man, apart from man's moral nature. It may be said, however, and with truth, that these tendencies to mysticism were unintentionally consequences of the systems I allude to; but in the school which sprung up afterwards, that of Schelling, the very foundation of all the doctrines, was mystical. For while its author despised the theoretical reason equally with the founder of the first system, he concluded, that the

inference made there, that we could have no knowledge of intelligible things, was quite false, and that we have a knowledge of intelligible things, by intuition. He taught, that God was the only existing being, that he was *one* and *all things*, that whatever was out of God, was not, existed not—that we ourselves as far as we really exist, exist in God, and that our individual and personal existence, is an apparent, and not a real one, for that our real existence consists in our identity with God. It is almost unjust to allude to such a system,\* in so passing and superficial a manner; but I do so merely to show how entirely this philosophy, which was, and is widely received, tended to the fostering of mysticism; and how much it is the same with the mysticism of former ages, with the Platonic mysticism, which inculcated doctrines, if not founded on the same ground, yet tending to the same effect (the necessity, namely, of an entire identification and union of the being with God), and also with the mysticism of subsequent times. Perhaps it differed in principle from all: but this at least was manifest, that assuming God as the only ground of all existences, the Absolute being in whom all other things exist, that is to say, assuming the actual identity of many things, which to us appear contrary to one another, this system could not appeal for proof of the possibility of the existence of this Absolute to any corporeal sense, or to the reason of mankind which could find nothing analogous to it in the visible world, nor in its own conclusions. It must necessarily rest upon the power of the imagination which could free itself from this empirical state of things, and rise to a state where that might be true, which could not be true according to the senses, and the reason. Here then *imagination*

\* 'Hoc unum postulabant,' says Borger, p. 177. 'ut phantasia et sensus commoverentur.' See A. T. A. F. Lehms Predigten, nebst einer abhaendl. ueber die Predigt. (Nordling, 1806.) and Rosenmueller Beytr. zur Homiletik, nebst einer abhaendl. von der Beredtsamkeit, Leips. 1814.

was the whole basis, as it was also with respect to the intuition of the Absolute, imagination too, carried to a higher pitch than even in poetry, which must never feign what the senses and reason do not confirm at least as possible. It was, therefore, to the cultivation and excitement of the imagination, and consequently of the senses, that all attention was to be directed, and not to any extension of knowledge, nor direct emendation of the heart. The public preachers were required by some of the disciples of this philosophy, to address themselves only to this point, and they were vehement accusers of the frigid sobriety of the Protestant worship, which rejected all splendid pomp and ceremonial, and the aid of all the elegant arts which could affect the senses and thus excite the imagination.\* It will hardly be believed, that some of this school seemed to regret on these grounds, the destruction of that heathen religion,† which was so entirely a religion of the senses, while the author of the system (if I do not misunderstand him) contended, that the Esoteric religion of the Greeks in their mysteries, was, in fact, the Christian system, which only revealed openly, what the mysteries had taught in private.‡ But it need hardly be said, that Catholicism soon be-

\* See Schiller Sammtl. Werke, tom. III p. 405. Schelling himself speaks constantly of the religion of Greece with an enthusiasm, which in a poetical view is quite intelligible, but is less pardonable in a philosophic moralist.

† See Schelling Philosophie und Religion (Tubingen, 1804.) p. 75. and Wegscheider's Tract De Græcorum mysteriis religioni non obtrudendis, p. 13—15. (Goettingen, 1805.)

‡ See Tzscherner's Kirchengeschichte seit der Reform. vol. IX. p. 636. For an example of the great admiration of the Catholic form, see Goethe's Life, vol. II. p. 173—188, in the original.

In the years 1813 and 1814, more than 300 men of cultivated minds went over to the Catholic Church. See a book called, *• Hat und behielt der Mensch bei und nach einem Religionswechsel seine ge-*

gan to find favour in the eyes of those who held those opinions, because it assuredly addresses itself so strongly to the senses, and in that respect, at least, supplies the void of which these writers complained. The consequence was, that many openly deserted the Protestant church,\* while others would have accommodated the Protestant to the Roman Catholic Religion, as to its ceremonies and worship; some really speak in the most extraordinary manner of the great consequence of a splendid form of worship,† and of the trifling importance of any positive doctrine; and, in a wild opposition to the naturalizing doctrines, maintain, that religion is to be felt, and not at all understood. There were differences of opinion, however, among them, as to the degree in which the Roman Catholic rites should be introduced, and others adopted what must be called a kind of allegorical catholicism. For they explain the philosophy of Schelling in words and phrases taken from the Catholic doctrines, and speak of the priests‡ and the sacrifices of the Christian religion, without at all meaning to receive these words in their strict and legitimate acceptation. I would not, however, be understood to say, that all who passed over to the Roman Catholic church, passed over in consequence of their acceptance of the mystical

sunde Vernunft? Berl. et Leips. 1816. Stolberg seems to have been disgusted by the uncertain and wavering doctrines of Protestantism. See his Letter in the Theol. Nachr. (1801, August,) p. 249.

\* See for example, the first vol. of Horst's *Mysteriosophie*, Frankf. 1817. See also Tzschirner de sacris eccl. nostræ caute emendandis, Commentat. III. p. 43. (1815.) reprinted in his *Memorabilien fuer das Studium d. Predigers*, vol. V. Part I. 1816.

† See Marheineke's *Grundlegung zur Homiletik*, p. 19. Hamb. 1811; and see also Rosenmueller *Beytr. zur Homil.* p. 43, to show the Catholics made use of their declarations.

‡ I need hardly say, that in writing expressly upon the subject of episcopacy, different, and far higher ground would have been taken.

doctrines. It is on record, that some sought in the bosom of a church, which in the midst of all its dreadful corruptions, at least possessed the form, and retained the leading doctrines of a true church, the peace which they sought in vain amid the endless variations of the Protestant churches of Germany, and their gradual renunciation of every doctrine of christianity.

It is indeed with sincere regret that one so often finds such inadequate and low views\* of our church government taken even by those who mean to be its defenders. The one and only correct ground is, that episcopacy is the originally appointed and the *sole* way of transmitting the commission to teach mankind, and administer the christian ordinance; a commission which is essential to the christian ministry, and which to be valid, must proceed from the great head of the church, through that channel in which his apostles, whom he authorized for the purpose, originally placed it. Earnestly, very earnestly indeed should it be recommended to those about to enter the ministry to study this subject fully; for the deep conviction of being entrusted with a divine commission, and not one which is the fruit of mere human views of expediency, is of all considerations, the one most calculated to excite a spirit of lively zeal, in the discharge of professional duty, and an entire devotion to professional feelings, and studies. Among all the works which I could mention as likely to be useful to a student, I hardly know one which takes so forcible yet so succinct a view of the subject, and which afterwards so earnestly presses on the younger clergy the awful nature of the duties they have undertaken, as a charge delivered to the clergy of New-York in 1815, by their admirable and invaluable bishop. In a subsequent charge in 1818, entitled, *The corruptions of the Church of Rome contrasted with certain Protestant errors*, he has entered on the same subject in some parts as I have done here; and I only wish that I were able to urge these topics with his force of argument and of language. Bishop Hobart is indeed a treasure of incalculable value to the church he governs. The impression which he has made on all who had the happiness of knowing him here, by his clear and lucid views his sincere and heartfelt, but inobtrusive piety, his deep

\* I presume the author of the article on Bishops in the *Encyclopedia Metropolitana* intends to plead the cause of episcopacy, but the Section I. 1. will show that he has not a just idea of the real grounds on which it rests.



Such, then, have been the effects of the naturalizing doctrines in Germany ; indifference on the one hand, and a violent reaction tending to mysticism on the other. Into their farther effects (except as matter of curiosity) we are the less concerned to enquire, as without any knowledge of what these proceedings have done, we can have no difficulty in judging what they are likely to do—no difficulty in rejecting every principle which they involve with disgust and detestation.

I have now terminated such a review of the state of Protestantism in Germany, as the limits of these discourses, and my own imperfect knowledge will allow. Even from that imperfect sketch, however, many important lessons may be drawn. The greatest of all is assuredly the conviction which it impresses so deeply, that *unassisted* reason never fails to mislead those who resign themselves to its guidance ; that whatever form it assumes, under every form it is frail or fallacious ; that whether it endeavours to elevate the being by the use of mere human and earthly means, or by connecting it with its maker through the medium of the imagination and the sense, its efforts are equally impotent ; that he who desires so to elevate himself, must have recourse to Scripture alone, and the moral improvement of the being which it directs, as the sure and only method of enlarging his intellect, and ameliorating his condition. But these are lessons for all ; there are others applicable to peculiar pursuits and conditions. The student in divinity may learn from the errors which this sketch of the modern German theology presents, that if he

and entire conviction of the truth of his principles, and his earnest zeal in their propagation, will not easily pass away. Let it be pardoned to private affection and regard, if it here utters the wish which indeed could be fully justified on public grounds, that his life may long be spared to the church and the country of which he is so bright an ornament.

assumes any arbitrary theory for the interpretation of Scripture, no extent, and no depth of learning will save him from falling into the wildest error. The philosopher may learn, that if he choose to form any theory of the Christian system, he must philosophize with the Bible in his hand, and verify every step by a recourse to Scripture. And the man of science may learn too, that the principles which he applies in other cases, are inapplicable here—that there is nothing to discover in revelation ; that the province of the human understanding with respect to Scripture, is to believe, and to obey it. But a stronger, and perhaps more important lesson is offered on that subject, which is said to form the base, and the boast of protestantism—the right of private judgment. I speak not, of course, of the legal, or even of the moral right ; but of the right as possessed by the members, and especially the ministers of any church. The church of England in her articles, expressly assumes the exercise of an authority entirely at variance with it ; the practice, at least, of every body, even of dissenters, is at variance with it also ; and the terrible evils resulting in the German church from its exercise, are the strongest practical proof of the wisdom, and necessity of restraining it. There was a time, however, and at no great distance, when a strong disposition existed, not indeed, in the largest or most respectable, but in the most clamorous of the clergy of England, to assert the right, to avoid subscription, or to evade its force. Many of their declarations have indeed been overstrained, and tortured into a form, far different from their own, and in their controversies with the Romanists of the present day, these tortured expressions are falsely and shamefully appealed to, as conveying the sense of the English clergy on this great question.\* But it must be al-

\* I have alluded here principally to the grossly unfair accusations of Dr. Milner in his 'End of Controversy.' I say grossly unfair, because I am persuaded that Dr. Millner is a man of too much talent,



lowed, that as the declarations on this point stand in the writings of some of the divines to whom I allude, even before their adversaries have had recourse to disingenuous suppres-

and too general knowledge, not to know perfectly that the opinions which he can cite from a very few writers of the English church, are *not* the opinions of that church. In fact, he hath misrepresented both Balguy and others. But if he had not done so, can he believe, that so idle a style of arguing as the attributing to an adversary, opinions which he disclaims, can have more than a temporary success? I wonder that a man of character and honour, can descend to such arts, or take advantage of the church<sup>\*</sup> being deprived of her public voice, to fix on her opinions, which, in his heart, he knows she condemns. He, however, is not alone in these discreditable practices, but is joined by allies from a very different quarter. The Unitarians and Catholics unite in attempting to force upon us on all points, the opinions of Hoadly, and Paley, and Blackburne with others of the same stamp and die. Mr. Belsham's late reply to the *Quarterly Review*,<sup>\*</sup> is almost entirely built on the fact, that the

\* A few words may be added here with respect to that Reply, which is manifestly too feeble and impotent for the Reviewer to waste his time in giving a separate answer to it.

[1.] Mr. Belsham complains heavily of personality. The personality consists of accusing him, not from any personal knowledge of him, but from the evidence of his works, of being ignorant and superficial. Whether the remarks are courteously expressed or not, may be another question; but if a critic may not express the opinion of an author, which is forced on him by a perusal of many of that author's works, on the ground that such a proceeding would be personal, there is an end of criticism. Of a different kind of personality, Mr. Belsham affords a specimen, when [p. 3.] instead of answering the Reviewer's arguments, in a fit of passion, he attacks his motives. Of rude and vulgar language too, such as the Reviewer never condescends to use, Mr. B's. pages supply an ample harvest, witness the following canto of elegant Belshaminæ. Mr. B. calls his Reviewer, an obscure drudge, a young unfledged ecclesiastic, a gaping Reviewer, a high church bigot, a sapient critic, a conceited Reviewer, a paragon of Reviewers, guilty of base calumny, ignorance, malignity, hypocrisy, stupidity in the extreme, intemperance, slander, superciliousness, &c. &c. &c. This is indeed language, which, I should have hoped, no one, who had the habits of a gentleman, could debase himself by using.

[2.] Mr. B. (p.6—8.) has obviously mistaken the charge brought against 'coxcombs in learning.' After noticing how meagre Mr. B's. reading is, the Reviewer says in passing, that on the other hand, he does not commend those

sions, these are principles, which every honest mind must disavow, and principles which it must give the bitterest regret to every true son of the church of England, to find in

opinions which the Reviewer maintains to be those of the church, are not the opinions of Watson, Paley, &c. to whom Mr. B. chuses

who seek to make a great display of their reading. The second remark Mr. B. appropriates to himself, as well as the first; but the Reviewer would not be so foolish as to accuse him in one page of displaying too little reading, and in the next, of too much. In fact Mr. B. and the Unitarians need be under no apprehensions of being attacked by any one for a superabundance of reading, or of learning.

[3.] Another source of Mr. B's. complaints is, that the Reviewer has attacked Locke. Neither the Reviewer, or any one else, would presume to deny the *acuteness* of Locke's work on the Epistles; but every churchman must, if he examines the matter, entirely reject the theological principle of Locke's exposition. That principle tends directly to Socinianism; Mr. B. indeed charges the Reviewer with ignorance, for calling Locke a Socinian, and says he was an Arian; but the Reviewer spoke from the principles of his work, and may well retort the charge of ignorance on Mr. B. if he does not perceive that those principles are Socinian.

But to return, where is the rashness of attacking Locke as a divine? Archdeacon Balguy, whose panegyric Mr. B. cites, distinctly states, that Locke interpreted by means of his philosophy, and that his erudition was inferior to that of many who had gone before him. Locke was not a great biblical scholar, nor divine; nay, he was no biblical scholar nor divine at all, nor did he ever profess to be so, but merely by means of close attention to follow out reasonings, which without such attention, could hardly be understood.

[4.] Mr. B. afterwards attacks the Reviewer for not receiving Dr. Taylor's Theory of the Gospel-Scheme, when he can cite several writers of our communion as approving it, and its author. He especially mentions Bishop Green and Dr. Hey, as approving Dr. Taylor's scheme of a two-fold justification. If he had read that work of Dr. Hey which he quotes so often, or even his friends notes and extracts from it [p. 15.] he might have found even there [vol. III. p. 168.] that our church holds the doctrine of a two-fold justification, and that it is therefore to that, and not to any new doctrine of Dr. Taylor's, that the writers whom he quotes, assent. As to Dr. Hey's praise of Taylor, he calls him the most eminent of the Socinian writers. That he was a Socinian, Mr. B. would boast. Does Mr. B. then mean to say, that any conscientious divine of the Church of England could assent to his scheme, when he understood it; or that the opinion of any number of divines [with Bishop Watson, and Dr. Paley at their head] who did so, can have, or ought to have, any authority with the very humblest student in divinity, who has rejected Socinianism? When Mr. B. has answered these questions, he may search for more authorities in favour

the works of any one of her members. Deeply, indeed, is it to be lamented on this, and on other accounts, that the church is deprived of a right, possessed by every other

to appeal, as great luminaries, men of profound learning, and as better authorities for her doctrines, that an anonymous Reviewer.

of Dr. Taylor, among our writers. I am very far, however, from denying the use of Dr. Taylor's book, while I reject his principles. The collections of passages which he has made, are eminently useful; and there can be no doubt of his having been a man of very considerable learning.

[5.] I must object decidedly to Mr. B's. method of citing Dr. Paley, and Dr. Hey. He does them gross injustice, when he tries to represent them as so strongly and frequently accusing the writers of Scripture of erroneous opinions, or at least supposing that they might hold such opinions, &c. The simple fact is, that Paley and Hey frequently suppose themselves arguing with infidels, who would not allow either the inspiration or necessary correctness of every thing in Scripture; and they endeavour to show the truth of Christianity, even without these concessions. Dr. Paley, for example, in the passage cited by Mr. B. [p. 28.] says expressly, 'In arguing with unbelievers, it is competent to say, give me the apostle's testimony, and I do not want their judgment;' and both he and Hey constantly argue on the same supposition. But it is very discreditable to Mr. B. to represent concessions for the sake of argument, as concessions really made. These remarks apply most strongly to the extracts from Hey in pp. 1. and 2, of the notes extracts, to the first of those from Michaelis at p. 22, and to that from Bishop Gastrell at p. 20.

[6.] Mr. B, or his friend, has obviously been guilty of one great piece of injustice to several great divines of the Church of England, as well as to the Reviewer. Like the German divines, Mr. B. seeks to explain away all the strong passages in Scripture, by representing the writers as reasoning on Jewish principles, or in the Jewish taste, or in using the argumentum ad hominem. When the Reviewer objects to this, Mr. B's friend cites Warburton, Chandler, Sherlock, Atterbury, Paley, &c. as approving of such a principle of explanation. But the whole question is one of degree. The Reviewer never seeks to exclude it wholly, but to limit its application; and unless Mr. B's friend believes that the writers whom he cites, would go the same lengths as he does, he has no right to appeal to them. He assuredly knows that they would reject such an extension of their principles with indignation.

The only remark besides, which seems necessary is this. Mr. B's. friend [p. 46.] is very indignant at the Reviewer's accusing Mr. B. of an intention of rejecting prophecy, and says, that the Reviewer garbled the words. The Reviewer did no such thing; but I will quote the whole sentence. When I have observed that in various parts of the book, the truth of parts of the Old Testament is questioned, I ask what other inference can be drawn from the following words? 'He [the apostle] probably referred [in 2 Tim. iii. 16:] only to the

church, nay, by every body of dissenters from her, however small or insignificant, that, namely, of deliberating in her collective capacity, of speaking with her public voice, and putting the seal of her public condemnation, on principles so utterly disavowed by an overwhelming majority of her own members, in the age when they were put forth, and so entirely at variance with every principle of her own. This cloud indeed has passed away from us ; common sense has shown the utter hopelessness of a church existing without making a declaration of faith, and requiring her ministers to subscribe to it, and common honesty and honour have pointed out the disgrace of countenancing subscription to that declaration in any but its literal, and obvious sense. Nay, it is quite certain, that the expression of other principles would, in this day, be greeted with such an expression of universal disgust, as is always due to every form and degree of equivocation and evasion. Yet these principles were avowed by men estimable in the highest degree in other points, and who, on other points, would assuredly have regarded evasion or equivocation with contempt. Neither were they faithless to the Christian cause, according to their own views of it, but on the contrary, defended it with zeal and ability and earnestness. One cause of their error seems to have been what may well be a cause for error again in these days, or in days to come, either an ignorance, or an undervaluing of the nature, the constitution

Even Mr. Belsham must know, that no fair inference can be made from talents to opinions, and must be aware, as well as Dr. Milner, of the unfairness of his premises, and the falsehood of his deductions. I should conceive, that the Catholics would not be very proud of their allies, or of maintaining the same wretched sophism as the Unitarians.

prophetic Scriptures, which, *if genuine*, are unquestionably inspired.' Mr. B's. friend contends that the remainder of the note would destroy any notion of Mr. B's. being unfavourable to prophecy. I have read it again very carefully, but can find nothing to justify this assertion.



and requirements of the church, and more especially of one like the Church of England. It is the constant fault of mankind, when in the enjoyment of blessings to forget or overlook the source whence they flow, and as the question of church government and constitution had not been brought into view, by an especial controversy at the time to which we allude, its necessity faded from the mind, and loose indefinite views of the excellence of Christianity in general, were substituted. These divines forgot, that they were not ministers of any indefinite, but of a definite form of Christianity ; that they had recorded their belief, that that was the true and apostolical form, and that consequently, they were bound by every tie, to support and defend the views of Christianity, which that form enforced and prescribed. The fair sounding words of liberty and of freedom from control, exercised that undue sway, which they always do exercise, when their meaning is not severely tried, and they who by their own acts had renounced that freedom, forgot their own act, and became its warmest advocates. And it is much to be feared, that in this present day, while the effects are different, there is the same ignorance, and the same forgetfulness of the leading principle, and constitution of our church. When we observe how much there is of impatient submission to authority, how much desire there is in individuals to quit their own sphere, to suggest and pursue their own plans for the confirmation, or advancement of the Christian cause, to become the advocates of general Christianity, and to testify an indifference to forms of belief, and of worship, we cannot but believe, that in those individuals, there must be a strange ignorance of what is required of them by the church to which they belong. In a deep feeling of the evils caused by such proceedings, we cannot but earnestly beseech those who are about to become public teachers in our church, not to overlook this essential branch of a clerical education, but to study

deeply her constitution, and to understand what is the real situation of the minister of an episcopal church, and what are his duties before they undertake them. True, indeed, it is, that the Christian spirit may exist, independently of all this. True it is, that at the farthest verge of the earth, and remote from every form of every church, the spirit of Christian hope, love, and joy, may glow in the bosom of the Christian. But that neither diminishes the necessity for forms of Christianity in the world, nor lessens their obligation when received. Their necessity and their expediency we need not, and we will not consider here; but thus much cannot be denied, that he who has become the minister of a form, which professes to be apostolical, has both set to the solemn record of his belief, that that claim can be justified, and has assumed every obligation, which such a profession implies. Before he does so, he may, if he pleases, become the minister of another form, or the minister of Christianity under no form; but when he has done so, he has declared, that in his belief, the one only true and effectual way of carrying on his Master's work on earth, is that way, on which he has entered, and that that form, to which he has declared his adherence, is the form approved by his Master himself. He is therefore become now the minister *of a church*, and as such, must pursue the road which that church dictates. He must no longer think his own thoughts, or form his own plans, but he must teach what the church commands in the sphere which she assigns. He may think that at some time, something is left in that church undone, which should be done, something done, which should be left undone—but he will know also that it belongs not to him to remedy the error, or supply the deficiency. He will know, that God, under whose especial guidance he believes the church to be, may indeed permit evil; but that his good spirit will rectify what is wrong, and supply what is wanting *in the appoint-*



*ed way*, and at the due season. His one aim will therefore be to understand fully what the spirit of the church is—his one aim to fulfil it, to unite with, not to separate from his brethren, to yield a ready and cheerful obedience to his superiors, not to endeavour to escape from it.

And, (if it may be permitted, in conclusion, to quit for a moment the more immediate object of these discourses,) does there not hence arise another, and a more solemn exhortation still to those who are about to become the ministers of the church? If it be true, that that church is indeed God's church, as they have declared that they believe it to be, if they who become her ministers, become therefore God's ministers, are they not at once bound to give themselves wholly to her service? It will not be enough that they pursue her plans *when* they engage in the duties connected with their profession, because they believe her work to be God's work, but for that same solemn reason they must devote to her every thought, every hope, every affection. No man having put his hand to this work, and looking back, is fit for it. The common professions of ordinary life require this, require the full devotion of the heart and mind; and shall the church demand, or obtain less? They give a tone to the whole thought, a colour to the whole life; and shall the church alone be contented with a half service, a perpetual vacillation from layman to priest, from priest to layman? Can he who is the minister of God, hope to edify God's people in the discharge of his duty to-day, unless to-morrow too, he recall to them, that holy, that indelible character in his business, his pursuits, and his amusement? Can the people believe, that the work of God is of such moment, unless he who has taken on himself to perform it, devote his whole being to its performance? But, indeed, can it be performed otherwise? It is a fatal error to suppose, that, because in the external discharge of the ordinary duties of the church, there is nothing

difficult, nothing which requires the devotion of any large portion of the time, the profession itself therefore requires no such devotion. For these very duties will be coldly and unprofitably discharged, unless the mind, by constantly dwelling on the subject, is deeply impressed with its importance; the studies of the profession require from all, whether they look to be the public defenders, or the private advocates of the church, the whole time which can be allotted to them, more especially in times, when disbelief and dissent, and opposition, are perpetually assuming some new shape, and offering some new difficulty; and on those solemn and awful occasions, when the servant of God is called on to attend the last fearful scenes of life, idly will he be called on, fatally, perhaps, to the poor penitent, fatally most assuredly, to himself, will he answer the call, unless he answer it with a heart, which is raised above the ordinary thoughts of ordinary life, hallowed, sanctified, and spiritualized. And so the whole man must be given to the service of the church with a deep feeling of regret, that the offering is at best so little worthy of her, and an intimate persuasion, that with less, her work cannot be done. There must be no other thought, than the promotion of that pure form of religion which she teaches, no other employment than its advancement, no hope, no pleasure, no delight, but its extension, its triumph, its victory. Shame, and guilt, and sorrow, be on him, who can either engage in that holy warfare from mere hopes of worldly advancement; or who can take it on him, as the service of a party, and introduce into it the unchristian feelings of worldly contention. But shame, and guilt, and sorrow on him too, who takes that service on him with indifference, and without a firm resolution to devote the best talents, and best energies he possesses to it. If any of you are about to become the ministers of God thoughtlessly, and with indifference to your profession—if any of you are about to become his

ministers, merely because his service offers you some prospect of temporal provision, be persuaded to renounce your intention, for with such thoughts and feelings, there can be no devotion to his cause, and yours will be an unworthy, and an unacceptable service. Renounce it for the sake of a righteous cause, which your carelessness will injure ; renounce it for your own sake, in the remembrance of the strict and solemn account, which the minister of God must one day give before the judgment-seat of Christ, and of the heavy doom which awaits the sleeping and careless watchman. On the other hand, be not deterred, if you have a real and firm desire to become God's servants, by any fear of the duties to be required of you. With the trial, there comes strength to the righteous heart, with the difficulty, support and encouragement. The comfort and the help of the Spirit which will be given to all that ask it, will be given in full measure to you, and will carry you through every trial, and every danger. You are to engage in studies, which, most of all studies, enlarge and elevate the mind—in duties, which, most of all duties, tranquillize and sanctify it. You are to do the work of God in the world—You are to be a source of light, and truth, and blessing, and under every difficulty and discouragement, your reward here, will be the consciousness of having laboured diligently for the good of mankind ; hereafter, it will be the approval of that Master, who will receive his good and faithful servant into his own eternal joy.

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With respect to Kuinoeel, I find his work getting into such general use (an honour little deserved in my opinion by any particular merit of the author, either as a critic or an interpreter) that I cannot but bring together a few of his

opinions and remarks, in order to set the book in the proper point of view. I will take a little of the commentary on St. Matthew. On chap. i. ver. 18. a page and a half is given to the detail of the Rationalists' opinions as to the birth of Christ from a virgin, viz. that it is either false, or a philosophic mythus, arising from the exalted actions of the Messiah, and from the sense given to Christ's declarations, that he was the Son of God; and that besides, every ancient nation has had heroes born of a virgin, or even without a mother. The note concludes with a reference to Ammon's Dissertation on the Nature of the histories of Christ's birth, and the works of Gabler, Bauer and Rosenmueller on this point; the three first at any rate prominent among the most violent Rationalists. In ver. 20, 21. we are told that as the Jews referred all unexpected events to invisible ministers of God, the author wished only to show, by mentioning the vision of the angel, that it was by God's providence, that Joseph did not reject his wife.

In ver. 22, 23. it is decided *without hesitation*, that the prophecy alleged, never applied to Jesus, and is only an accommodation. A double sense is entirely denied by all these writers.

Chapter ii. 1. We have a direct assertion, that if not here, at least in St. Luke, the *Gospel of the Infancy* is used as authority, and in the Prolegomena, this 'Gospel of the Infancy,' is said to be derived from traditions in the family of Jesus, preserved because they always expected him to be eminent.

Ver. 17. The prophecy of Jeremiah had not the least reference to the murder of the Innocents.

Chap. iii. 2. We have here an account of all the false notions entertained of the Messiah, and a direct assertion, that Christ accommodated himself to them as far as he could without hinderance to his own doctrine; and so endeavoured gradually to teach them better notions. Then we have

a detail of Eckermann's opinions, that the kingdom of the Messiah means only the society of Christ's disciples ; that to be received into the kingdom of heaven, means nothing but to profess Christianity ; and that by Christ's advent, and judgment, is only meant that happiness in a future life depends on the degree of zeal shown for Christ's doctrines on earth.

Ver. 3. The words of Isaiah, 'The voice of one, &c.' are a promise of the prophet to his countrymen of better times, in which he uses poetic images, that 'God himself will come to assist his people, &c.'

Ver. 11. 'The Holy Spirit' is a fuller knowledge of the heavenly doctrine.

Ver. 16. The explanation of the 'heavens opening, &c.' is thus given. Jesus after his baptism was praying—it lightened, his face shone with joy, fortitude, and constancy, his words were full of divine wisdom ; and from that time he appeared ornamented with the excellent gifts of a teacher, and acted the part of the Messiah ; and to complete this (ver. 17.) 'the voice from heaven' was thunder, and the word λέγουσα means *declaring* or *showing*, as the thunder was taken by John for a public declaration of God, that Jesus was the Messiah !

These last happy explanations are Kuinoel's own, that is, not original inventions, but meeting his approbation ; nor is any other given or hinted at, as ever adopted by the orthodox.

Chap. iv. The devil was a member of the Sanhedrim, perhaps the high priest, who at intervals tried whether Jesus was the Messiah. It is only fair to say, that Kuinoel mentions all the other explanations, and states, likewise, that none is wholly satisfactory. In his, however, he says, most of the difficulties attending the others vanish. In ver. 2. we are told, that by Christ's fasting, is only meant that he lived on herbs, fruits, wild honey, &c.



In chap. viii. 4. he gives certainly his opinion against the naturalizing way of explaining the miracles; adding, however, that there may be some occasions where even a sober interpreter may depart from the common methods of explanation, without being attacked for it—though there will be more where he will confess, that he cannot say any thing certain. But that others may judge of the naturalizing style of explanation, he says he will occasionally give specimens, especially from Paulus, *selecting only the probable, and certainly ingenious conjectures*. In the course of this very chapter, he gives two of these probable and ingenious conjectures.

The first is at ver. 27. where Jesus stills the tempest. The author of Remarks on Paulus's Commentary says, that Jesus prayed with a loud voice, and uplifted hands—and that all he said could not be heard—and that the disciples supposed from the event, not from any thing they heard, that he had quelled the storm—and so very nearly Krummacher (pudet!) and Thiess of course.

The second is at ver. 28, and following, where Eichhorn's ingenious and probable conjecture is, that as the dæmoniæ fancied that a legion of evil spirits had possession of him, Christ humoured his fancy, and managed so, that he rushed violently on the herd of swine, and drove them into the sea, and then 'when he believed that the evil spirits had gone into the swine, *he recovered his former health.*' Nothing can assuredly be more *easy, ingenious or probable*. But let us hear another *ingenious and probable* conjecture on this same subject. A certain Schmidt tells us, that when the swine herds were attending to Jesus, instead of minding their business, the pigs got too near the shore, fought, and many of them fell over, and that then Jesus took advantage of this, and told the madman, that the evil spirits had gone out of his body into the swine! This, I suppose, is Kuinoel's own notion, for he says a little below, in inquiring how Jesus came to do so great injury to the



swine herds, that if we admit Schmidt's opinion, Christ will require no apology.

I judge it unnecessary to give further specimens of Kuinoell's method of commenting. I shall only add, that there is hardly one wild and wicked opinion set afloat by others, which he does not retail; I can therefore have no hesitation in expressing my regret at his work being used by students in divinity. It is convenient for those of maturer judgment, who do not read German, and yet wish to know the Rationalist's style of commenting—but it would be one of the last books I should think of giving to young men, whose minds and judgments are not sufficiently formed to take *general views* of this subject, but may be prejudiced on particular points by these *ingenious and probable* conjectures.

I think Rosenmueller's book on the New Testament less objectionable; though I quite agree in Bishop Blomfield's opinion, that there is very little that is new in it, and that that little is usually wrong. (Reference to Jewish Tradition, p. 26.)

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I cannot conclude these notes, without a few general observations. In the first place, it may perhaps appear no mark of discretion to bring forward such a mass of mischievous and evil opinions to public view; and assuredly I should not have done so, if the subject were a new one in this country. But all the worst part of these opinions, the decided rejection of every thing miraculous and mysterious, is already before us, in works which are in by far too general use, those, for example, of Rosenmueller and Kuinoell. It is presented too in those works, in a shape best calculated (I do not mean by design) to deceive and mislead. For it is presented as the fruit of laborious and recondite investigation on the part of men, about whom we have no other

indications that they are not believers in Christianity as we are. The student has nothing positive to warn him, that the acceptance of these opinions is inconsistent with belief in it; and it is well known that when the mind is only in progress, there is nothing more captivating, than theories which tend to simplify, to level, and to reduce. I have therefore thought, that a distinct statement of the *principles* of the Rationalists—a proof that they are not believers in revelation, in the proper sense of the word, and that that disbelief, by sending them with prejudiced minds to the interpretation of Scripture, has been the parent of these strange expositions—would not only be useful, but that it is necessary to dispel the obscurity which may hang over the doctrines of the Rationalists here, and be favourable to their propagation.

It may perhaps be observed, that I have rarely made any remark in refutation of the doctrines I have mentioned. In truth, I have seldom felt it necessary, for in nine instances out of ten, the opinions of the Rationalists, are opinions, which have been expressed a thousand times in the pages of Deistical writers, and as often refuted. The only novelty about them is the simple fact of their being now expressed by men calling themselves believers in Christianity, and holding high situations in a Christian church. With respect to what is, if not an absolute novelty, yet the leading one of the system, viz. the accommodation-theory, I have made some remarks in these Discourses—and I cannot but add another here—that however ingeniously supported by the selection of instances, however finely woven the web may be, it is broken at once by the simple perusal of the New Testament. The decided conviction, I feel assured, on every man's mind, before such a theory is brought under his notice, is, that Christ instead of seeking favour and reception for his doctrines, by bowing to popular opinions, perpetually exposed himself to misrepresentation, and sometimes to danger, by his uncompromising opposition to them

—and that there is no feature in his character more remarkable than his rejection and bold condemnation of every favourite tradition, and every popular principle, which he thought injurious. In morals, in speculation, in faith, almost every word he said must have shocked the prejudices, and wounded the feelings of some of his hearers, and that not only by implication, but very frequently too by the bold and severe rebukes directly addressed to them. I can never indeed think of the theory of accommodation without wonder, that men who are at least ingenious and inquiring, should have adopted what, it appears to me, the most superficial inquiry must teach all to reject.

In conclusion, I cannot but express my sincere pleasure in knowing, that in Germany, a better order of things may be shortly expected. Some of the Rationalists have openly retracted—some are silent—the system is on the decline, and the new appointments to theological chairs, are made from a better class of thinkers and scholars. In fact, it could never be expected that in a nation like the Germans, so addicted to the loftiest speculations, a system so grovelling in its principles, and so debasing in their application, could have any long reign. We must only fervently wish for them, that their new inclinations may be fostered and confirmed by a better external regulation of the church; and for ourselves, that in our increasing, or rather commencing acquaintance with German writers, we may remember that what has been unfortunately first brought to our notice, is already rejected and condemned, by those to whom it owed its rise and propagation.

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ON THE

**Mode of Catechetical Instruction**

PURSUED BY THE APOSTLES:

AN EXTRACT FROM

**J. G. WALCH'S MISCELLANEA SACRA.**

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN

BY DANIEL C. AXTELL.

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ON THE

**MODE OF CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION**

PURSUED BY THE APOSTLES.

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SYNOPSIS.

§ I. *Various modes of instruction.* § II, III, IV. *General view of the catechetical mode and its use.* § V. *In particular, of the catechetical instruction of the Apostles; that in instructing the ignorant, they used this mode altogether.* § VI.—XIV. *Nature of the Apostolic catechesis. Fundamental truths of the Christian religion, which were taught, distinctly enumerated from Heb. vi. 1.* § XV.—XVIII. *The catechumens; among whom, in the New Testament, the Corinthians and Hebrews are particularly mentioned: also Theophilus and Apollos.* § XIX. *The manner in which the Apostles conducted these instructions. Whether they composed a catechetical compend?* § XX.—XXI. *The order,* § XXII.—XXVI. *The form, and qualities of this mode of instruction.*

SECTION I.

TRUTH can evidently be imparted in different ways to different individuals. Hence there are two modes of instruction accommodated to the capacity of the learner. One is called the *exoteric* and the other the *acroamatic* mode; the former is employed in the instruction of the more ignorant class—of those, whose capacity is not adapt-



ed to the most elevated subjects and the most refined mode of treatment, and who wish to acquire only the first principles and necessary outlines of any science. The latter or the acroamatic mode is used, when such minds, as can grasp the most profound and intricate truths, are to receive that cultivation, which may fit them for more extensive progress.

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[The remainder of this section is taken up with showing that the ancient philosophers, and Aristotle in particular, employed this two-fold mode of instruction; and with a conjecture concerning its origin.]

## SECTION. II.

According to these two modes, the outlines of the Christian religion are commonly taught, and hence Theology also is divided into exoteric and acroamatic. To the former of these, belongs catechetical theology, which comprehends only the principal and most necessary truths of Christian doctrine, and requires a method adapted to the capacity of the more simple and ignorant class of men. It admits neither intricacy in the subjects which are proposed, nor obscurity in their discussion, nor artificial definitions, nor a citation of various writers and opinions. The mode of instruction in this branch of Theology is called *catechesis*, which is a Greek word, and is derived from the verb *κατηχέω*. This verb seldom occurs among profane writers, but very often in the New Testament, although in different senses. For at one time *κατηχέσθαι* has the same general meaning, as to *hear any thing*, to *learn by common report*. Acts xxi. 21. At another time, it means, *to be instructed in things pertaining to religion*, as it is used Rom. ii. 18. Gal. vi. 6. 1 Cor. xiv. 19.

In another place κατηχέειν means *to initiate in the rudiments of the Christian faith* whether that may be done in writing, or by the living voice. This is the meaning of the words of Luke (chap. i. 4.) in which he thus addresses Theophilus, to whom he had inscribed his Gospel: ἵνα ἐπιγινῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, — *That thou mayest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.* For Luke here evidently speaks of a more perfect knowledge in distinction from that slight acquaintance with the fundamental truths of Christian doctrine which Theophilus had already acquired. The same is the meaning of Acts xviii. 25, where Apollos is said to be κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς κυρίας, — *instructed in the way of the Lord.* For as he had only been instructed concerning the baptism of John, and was afterwards taught the way of God more perfectly, by Aquila and Priscilla, as appears from verse 26, it is evident, that that knowledge with which he had at first been imbued, was only elementary and fundamental. This word is used in the same sense by ecclesiastical writers. We can adduce the Constitutiones Apostolicas,\* where it is said, — ὁ μέλλων κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον τῆς εὐσεβείας, παιδεύεσθω πρὸ τῆς βαπτίσματος τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀγεννήτης γυνῶσιν τὴν περὶ τῆς ὡς μονογενὲς ἐπίγνωσιν τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀγίας πνεύματος πληροφορίαν, *Let him who is to be initiated in the doctrine of piety, be led as by the hand, before his baptism to the knowledge of him who is not begotten, to the knowledge of the only begotten Son, and to a full perception of the Holy Spirit.* We find more testimony of the same kind, in the records of Ecclesiastical antiquity, concerning the persons taught, the subjects of instruction, and the catechesis itself of the ancient church. Whoever wishes to see a compendious view of these points, can consult J. C. Suicer,†

\* Libr. 8. cap. 39. tom. 1. patr. apostol. Cotellerii, p. 332.

† Thesaur. ecclesiast. tom. 2. p. 69.

J. Bingham,\* and also C. Salmasius,† and J. A. Fabricius.‡

### SECTION III.

As to the subject of our present consideration, there is no doubt, that catechetical instruction has in all ages been employed. For as the condition of children and of ignorant men, who cannot comprehend the more elevated parts of a science, does not admit of any other mode of instruction, it must always have been in this way that the knowledge and worship of God was transmitted from one generation to another. That it was used among the Hebrews, is evident from various passages in the Old Testament. When the Messiah appeared to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 19.), he made the following declaration:—כִּי יִדְעֵתִיו לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יִצְוֶה אֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ אַחֲרָיו וְשָׁמְרוּ דֶרֶךְ יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט לְמַעַן הֵבִיא יְהוָה עָלֶיךָ אֲבָרָהּם אֵת אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר עָלֶיךָ. *For I know him that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.*

We know indeed that the word יִצְוֶה means *to give a command or precept*; but surely the very giving of a precept or command implies some previous instruction as to its nature. The addition however of the words יִצְוֶה אֶת־בָּנָיו *he will command his children*, leaves no doubt as to the meaning. Abraham therefore, instilled into his children from their infancy, the purest divine precepts, and

\* Orig. sive antiquit. ecclesiast. vol. 2. p. 51. and vol. 4. p. 1.

† In notis ad Sextum Empiricum, p. 285 and 339.

‡ De lingua Hellenistica, p. 103.

pointed out to them the only path in which those must walk who would secure the favour of God.

This he could do in no other way than by accommodating himself to their capacity, by teaching them at first the most simple truths, and afterwards as their minds became sufficiently mature, by enlarging and defining more fully and precisely. That Abraham will do this, God himself says that he certainly knows.

If we pass on from the Patriarchal to the Mosaic economy, we find many remarkable passages in proof of our position. In the first place, at the institution of the Paschal Lamb, as a memorial of deliverance from Egyptian bondage, Moses, after enumerating all the ceremonies which were, by Divine command, to be observed, adds these words.\*

*And it shall come to pass when your children shall say unto you, what mean ye by this service? That ye shall say, it is the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover, who passed over the houses of the Children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses. And the people bowed the head and worshipped.*

From these words it is evident that this excellent mode of instruction was commanded by God himself. The sacrifice here mentioned constituted a part and a very important part of the Jewish religion. The Jews were therefore required to explain it to their children, when they asked them its meaning; which proves, that the catechesis was not unknown among them; and the mention, in this passage, of questions and answers, gives us also some idea of the nature of the catechesis, which is best conducted in that way. Besides, the last words of verse 27, in the passage just cited, very clearly imply, that this requirement was submitted to, and sacredly observed by the Jews. For what else can be meant by their "*bowing the head*," except an expression of their willingness to obey all the

\* See Ex. xii. 26, 27.

Divine requirements? Nor must it be supposed, that this was the only doctrine, which was taught the Jewish youth. For the mention of this evidently does not exclude others. And if we revert to the passage which we have just before quoted from Gen. xviii. 19. which from its connexion evidently relates to instruction in all parts of Divine service, we must be satisfied, that the whole system of sacred truth was explained in this simple manner to the Jewish children, both male and female. Moreover, in that passage, as elegant as it is explicit, commencing at Deut. vi. 2, Jehovah requires of infants as well as adults, that they should walk in the way of righteousness, and to enable them properly to do this, he adds (v. 6 and 7.) **וְהָיוּ הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר**  
**אָנֹכִי מְצַוֶּה הַיּוֹם עַל־לִבְּךָ וְשִׁנְתָּם לְבִנְיָךְ**  
*And these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children.* The manner in which the Israelites were to explain to their children the Divine precepts is expressed by the verb **שָׁנַן** *to sharpen or whet*, which intimates, that they should teach them in such a way as their age and capacity required, and should add frequent and severe admonition, lest the inconsiderate youth should neglect or forget those instructions, that were designed for their benefit. How then would it be possible to prove more fully, that the mode of instructing the ignorant, which we denominate the catechesis, was in use among the Israelites? The same direction is repeated by Jehovah in the 20th verse of the same chapter. We might also adduce, on the subject of the Hebrew catechesis, various other passages, such as the following: Deut. xi. 19. Josh. iv. 6, 7, 22, and 24. 15. 1 Sam. i. 25. Psalms lxxviii. 4, 5. But we cannot give a particular exposition of these. See J. Hoornbeck,\* J. B. Carpzov,† and G. Langemack.‡

\* Miscellan. sacr. Libr. 1. Cap. 12. p. 327.

† Disputation. acad. p. 863

‡ In histor. catechet, part 1. cap. 2. p. 13.



## SECTION IV.

Our blessed Saviour generally delivered his instructions by means of symbols and parables, which were in common use at that time. Sometimes, however, laying aside all figures, he stated in plain language the truths that were necessary to salvation. As those whom he taught, were commonly of the more ignorant class, and not fitted for the acroamatic method, he undoubtedly accommodated himself to their capacity, and employed that manner, which if not precisely catechetical, had however many of the properties of the catechesis. From the account given in Luke ii. 46, of Christ's sitting in the temple among the doctors, hearing them and asking them questions, some have concluded, that he occupied that situation among the catechumens, and that the questions and answers here referred to, were such as are used in the catechesis. But as the use of questions and answers is not confined to catechetical instruction, but may be admitted in the more advanced stages of Divine instruction, it is more probable that Christ disputed with the Jewish rulers about the more important parts of religious truth; especially as the Evangelist adds (v. 47), that *all who heard him were astonished at his wisdom and his answers*. This is also the opinion of J. F. Budaeus.\*

## SECTION V.

That the Apostles used the catechetical mode in instructing the more ignorant, is clearly proved by the testimony of Sacred Scripture. Paul writes to the Corinthians, *γάλα ἡμῶν ἐπέτινα*—*I have fed you with milk*; which Clemens

\* Isag. ad theol. libr. 2. Cap. 1. § 4. p. 339.



Alexandrinus\* very properly explains. as referring to the catechesis In the same manner also Cyril of Alexandria interprets the word γάλα. He saith γάλα ἐστὶ νηπιοπρεπῆς τροφή, ὁ τρυφερός καὶ ἀπλὴς τῆς κατηχήσεως λόγος—*Milk. that is, the tender and simple language of catechetical instruction, is suitable nourishment for children.* So also Chrysostom calls γάλα—τὸν ταπεινὸν λόγον, διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἀφελεσέροις ἀρμόζειν—*plain language, fit for the more ignorant.* See J. C. Suicer.†

Moreover, the sum of catechetical truth, as proposed by the Apostles, is stated Heb. vi. 1, and the Epistles of Paul to the Ephesians and Colossians were called by the ancients κατ' ἐξοχὴν—*catechetical.* Thus also saith the Author of the “Synopsis Scripturæ” § γράφει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὡς περ κατηχητικὴν. *He writes to them (the Ephesians) this Epistle as catechetical.* He gives the same opinion also concerning the epistle to the Colossians, as it is shown by J. C. Suicer.||

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## SECTION VI.

Having therefore proved that the catechetical mode of instruction was used by the Apostles, we ought in the next place to explain the nature of this mode of instruction. In pursuance of this object, we must first consider the subjects which were presented in it, for preparing men for Christian communion, and for conducting them to eternal life. These we learn chiefly from the Epistle to the Hebrews. (vi. 1, 2.)—*Therefore, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfec-*

\* Lib. 1. pædag. c. 6. p. 119. edit. Potteri.

† Comm. in Jes. tom. 2. oper. p. 913.

‡ Thesaur. eccles. tom. 1. p. 721.

§ Which is commonly attributed to Athanasius, although some think that he was not the author.

|| As cited above 1. p. 1189.

*tion; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment.* If it be asked, by which of the Apostles these subjects of catechetical instruction were prescribed? We cannot answer the inquiry, without previously determining who was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Concerning the author of this Epistle, there is a great difference of opinion among the learned. These various opinions are enumerated by I. A. Fabricius,\* I. G. Pritius,† and others. To none however can it more justly, or with a greater degree of probability be ascribed, than to Paul, whose claims as author have been maintained with a variety of arguments and testimony by I. H. Heidegger,‡ J. Lange,§ and especially by F. Spanheim.|| The arguments, by which this opinion is supported, are chiefly these. First, Peter (2 Epistle iii. 15.) appears to ascribe this Epistle to Paul. 2d, It is said (Heb. xiii. 24.) to have been written in Italy, where there was, at that time, no other person to whom it could so justly be attributed as to Paul. 3d, Its author asserts (x. 34.) that he wrote it *in bonds*; hence it is inferred that Paul wrote it, as it was his custom in his letters (Phil. i. 13.) to make mention of the bonds, with which he was confined at Rome. 4th, The author (xiii. 24.) mentions Timothy as the companion of his journeyings, who was confessedly a companion and fellow-labourer of Paul. 5th, It has been clearly shown by J. Lange,¶ that the whole argument, model, character, sentiments,

\* Bibliothec. Græc. lib. 4. cap. 5. § 159.

† Introduct. in lection. Nov. Testam cap. 4. p. 19.

‡ Enchirid. bibl. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 609.

§ Comment. histor. hermeneut. de vita et epist. Apos. Pauli. part 1. Sect. 3. § 14. p. 156.

|| Libro de auctore epistolæ ad ebræos tom. 2. oper. p. 171.

¶ As cited above p. 157.

language and forms of address are very similar to the other epistles of this Apostle. Nor is there wanting testimony from ecclesiastical antiquity, to corroborate the foregoing arguments. For it was the opinion of the most distinguished ancient doctors, both of the Greek and Latin Church, as Justin, Clemens Alex., Epiphanius, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Alex., Hieronymus, Ambrose, and Augustine, that this epistle was written by Paul. These arguments and authorities, when taken together, have so much weight that we must acknowledge it to be at least extremely probable, that the Apostle Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews. Hence then we conclude that Paul was the distinguished promoter of the catechetical mode of instruction.



## SECTION VII.

The author of the Epistle to the Heb. enumerates six subjects of catechetical instruction — 1, Repentance ; 2, Faith in Christ ; 3, Baptism ; 4, Laying on of hands, or the Church ministry ; 5, The resurrection of the dead ; 6, Eternal punishment. These six subjects or heads are connected with each other in the following manner. The two first (viz. repentance and faith) constitute the essential parts of true Christianity. Since no one can appropriate to himself the right and privilege of Christian communion, unless by regeneration, conversion, and repentance, he has been freed from, and entirely renounced all worldly desires ; and having done this, has applied solely to Christ, as the Saviour of men, and laid hold of his merits with full confidence, and thus recovered the lost favour of God. The two following subjects (viz. baptism, and laying on of hands or the ministry of the church), relate to the means appointed by God for attaining the above end, by the use of which,

men may acquire faith, and thus become possessed of those graces which are essential to the character of a true Christian. The last two topicks relate to the end or goal which is proposed to the followers and imitators of Christ—viz. eternal felicity. Before, however, they can attain to the full enjoyment of this, it is necessary for Christ, to recall the dead to life, and to institute the last judgment. Hence it is easy to see, why the Apostle subjoins to the four former subjects of catechetical instruction, two others—viz. the resurrection of the dead, and eternal punishment ; and makes mention of those endless torments, which are opposed to the happiness of heaven.

It must not, however, be supposed, that the Apostles proposed to their catechumens no other subjects of sacred instruction, than those which have been enumerated from the Epistle to the Hebrews.

For it is evident both from the sacred Scriptures, and from the nature of saving knowledge, that they taught them all the other truths, which are essential to salvation. For the system of doctrine which is necessary for the attainment of faith and eternal salvation, has its several parts so closely connected together, that they can by no means be separated ; and if any one article should be removed or destroyed, it would be impossible to sustain, or rightly to explain, the remainder. When, therefore, the Apostles gave precepts concerning repentance and faith in Christ, there is no doubt, but that they also delivered instructions concerning the law, concerning sin, concerning grace, and concerning Christ, in that way which the catechesis requires ; and that they even delivered these instructions prior to those which relate to repentance and faith. When, moreover, they proposed the subject of eternal punishment, who can doubt, but that they, at the same time, showed, that eternal life may be hoped for by pious and holy men, and that in that

eternal life is implied the greatest felicity,—even the peace and joy arising from the presence of God himself.

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### SECTION VIII.

Having shown the connexion of the chief topicks of catechetical instruction, which are enumerated in the epistle to the Hebrews, we ought briefly to consider each of them by itself. The first topick is μετανοία ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων *repentance from dead works*; which very properly occupies the first place; as repentance is the way, by which we must return to God, and recover his favour. When the Apostles taught this doctrine, there is no doubt but that they clearly explained to their catechumens, the nature and several parts of repentance; and how true Christian repentance differs from that which was taught by men without Christianity.

The Apostles' doctrine of repentance, therefore, contained in it three principal points. The first referred to the true nature of repentance. True repentance requires an internal change of mind, by which a man passes from a state of death and wrath, to a state of spiritual life and grace. It is called in sacred Scripture both μετανοία and μεταμέλεια, the original difference between which words, is, that μετανοία signifies the act, by which a man perceives that he has erred, confesses it, and returns to a better mind; but μεταμέλεια implies the sorrow and anguish, which he experiences from a view of his evil actions. Nevertheless they are often used indiscriminately by the most approved writers, and even in the sacred Scriptures themselves.

As in repentance there is a change from one state to another, we ought to consider, both the state which the man leaves, and that to which he passes. To the former of these, the Apostle alludes, when he speaks of repentance



ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων *from dead works*. In various other passages of the sacred volume, repentance is connected with ἔργα *works*, to indicate, that he who would repent, must break off from evil practises—as in Rev. ii. 22. εἰς μὴ μετανοήσωσιν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν—*except they repent of their deeds*; and in Heb. ix. 14. the term *dead works* is expressly applied in this sense. These works are called dead for these three reasons. 1. On account of the *subject*, or the man who performs them, who is dead in sins, Eph. ii. 1. v. 14. Col. ii. 13., who is destitute of that life which is from God. Eph. iv. 18., who is the son of Adam, from whom natural and spiritual death was communicated to all his posterity, and to the whole race of mankind, Rom. v. 12. As therefore a dead man cannot put forth any of the actions of living beings, but is in darkness, and from his decaying carcase sends forth a noisome smell; so also he, who is spiritually dead, produces only dead works, such as, *darkness*. Eph. v. 8. 11. Rom. xiii. 12. *corruption*, Eph. iv. 29. and *filthiness*, Psalms, xiv. 3.

2. These works are called dead, on account of the *effect*; as the actions of those, who are not born again by the Holy Spirit, produce death, which every sin bringeth forth. Jac. i. 15. In the same sense also God threatened death to our first parents;—and death is called the *end of sin*, Rom. vi. 21., and the *wages* or reward due to it, v. 23. 3. They are called dead on account of the *acts* themselves, which are dead, as they are destitute of that goodness which it ought to possess, and, as it were, of that moral life, the love of God and of our neighbour, which is the fulfilling of the Law. Rom. xiii. 10. This subject has been more fully treated by I. Alting,\* Casp. Stresø,† Io. Brown,‡ and S. Schmidt.§

\* Heptad. dissertat. academic. p. 5.

† Comm. in epist. ad ebr. p. 369.

‡ Comment. in epist. ad ebr. p. 314.

§ Comm. in epist. ad ebr. p. 588.



As therefore it was necessary, for the penitent to abstain from these dead works, the Apostle, without doubt, taught his catechumens, how many and what were the parts of repentance. The illustration of these constituted the *second* general division of this doctrine. By some, repentance is divided into three parts, viz. confession of sin; contrition on account of it; and faith in Christ; by others, into two, viz. contrition and faith. These however, do not differ in reality. For those who admit only two parts, contrition and faith, either suppose confession of sin, without which there can be no true contrition; or they include it in contrition.

In this passage, however, the Apostle so uses the term repentance as to exclude faith in Christ, inasmuch as he connects repentance from dead works with faith, and therefore by the former only implies contrition with confession of sin; as the word occurs in the same sense, Mark i. 15. when the Saviour himself says,—*repent ye and believe the Gospel.*

We come now to the *third* general division. For when the Apostles explained to their adult catechumens the nature of true repentance, they would find it necessary to oppose those errors with which the doctrine of repentance, and especially of contrition, was corrupted, both among the Jews and Pagans.

For as to the Jews, God had indeed clearly explained to them in the Old Testament the true method of justification, and the way of obtaining it. But this truth, the Jewish rulers, especially the Pharisees, had greatly corrupted. Setting out with the opinion, that justification and eternal salvation was to be obtained by a careful observance of the Divine commands, they not only believed, that human nature was not naturally so depraved, but that it could fulfil the Divine Law; but also, in order to defend their own weakness, and to remove any scruples which might arise, they

abandoned the true spiritual meaning of the Divine Law, and understood it as referring only to external actions; which false interpretation of the Law, originating principally with the Pharisees, the Saviour himself reproved and corrected, Mat. v. 20. &c. Entertaining such sentiments, they could not fully perceive the number and greatness of their sins, nor could they exercise in view of them sorrow and anxiety of mind. It is easy to determine therefore, what ideas they must have had of the nature of repentance, and especially of contrition. For a more full illustration of this subject, consult Herman Witsius,\* and Jo. Franc. Buddaeus.†

The same thing may be said of the Pagans, that they also were much in error respecting the true nature of repentance. We admit, that the ancient masters of wisdom, Pythagoras, Plato, Zeno, and their followers, gave precepts concerning the improvement of the mind, and recommended helps for that object. Nor can it be denied, that their writings, especially those of Seneca and Epictetus, contain sentiments concerning the improvement of the human mind so splendid, that one who should not nicely distinguish, might easily persuade himself, that he could discover in them traces of Divine and Christian truth. But such sentiments, although very splendid when expressed in their elegant language, are yet founded on principles essentially erroneous, as, concerning the soul of man, that it is a particle of the Divine essence; concerning the origin and seat of evil, that it is only in matter and in the body; and concerning a philosophical death.

\* *Miscell. sacra. part. 2. exercit. 21. § 4. p. 207.*

† *Miscell. sacra. part. 2. p. 239.*

## SECTION IX.

The second general subject of catechetical instruction instituted by the Apostle, is *πίστις ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν* *faith towards God*, and is intimately connected with the first.

For after the Apostle had taught the catechumens concerning contrition for sin; he very properly subjoined the doctrine of faith towards God; that he might at the same time show, how the mind, broken down with sorrow and anxiety, might again be raised up, and comforted; and might conceive the hope of recovering the favour of God and eternal salvation. But as to the meaning of the Apostle in the phrase *πίστις ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν*, there is a great difference of opinion among interpreters.

Some explain it as referring to the profession of faith made in baptism; others, however, and with more reason, understand by it, justifying faith itself. For, first, we see no necessity of departing from the proper signification of the term; then, in the next place, the connexion of the discourse requires this interpretation: as he had before spoken of repentance or contrition, he now adds faith, in the proper order, and with the design of proposing to his catechumens, in these two first subjects of repentance and faith, the entire doctrine of conversion. He requires not simply faith, but *faith towards God*. By God he principally means Christ, the *blessed* God, Rom. ix. 5., the *great* God, Titus ii. 13., the *true* God, 1 John v. 20., the chief and only object of faith; not however to the exclusion of the other persons of the Divine Essence—the Father and the Holy Spirit. For the Son and the Father are one, John x. 30. What things the Father does, the Son also does, John v. 29. He who knows the Son, knows also the Father, John ii. 23. He that believeth on the Father, believeth on the Son, John xii. 44, xiv. 1. Nor is it without reason, that the Apostle uses the preposition *ἐπὶ*, which

has here a peculiarly strong meaning. For he proposes *πίστις ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν upon God*—that faith, by which a man places all his confidence in God alone, so that he who hath this faith, seeks for life, happiness, and salvation, in no other but God, that is Christ, his own Saviour.

This faith in Christ, the Apostle proposes to his catechumens after repentance from dead works, so that having left the state of death, they may see the path, which leads to life. For the principle of spiritual life is faith itself; and that in a three-fold manner; first, on account of the essential acts, as assent, desire, apprehension, and confidence, in the exercise of which true faith is always alive. 2dly, On account of the object which it apprehends, that is, Jesus Christ, who being united to believers by faith, gives them spiritual strength, not only when he acts in common with the Father and the Holy Spirit, but especially when he confers upon them this peculiar favour, that they, as members of his mystical body, may receive from him, as from their head, all spiritual influences. Eph. i. 23 and iv. 15. Col. ii. 19. 3dly, On account of its effect, which is immediately love, as Paul says, *faith worketh by love*, Gal. v. 6.; but mediately other good works, which flow from love, as from a fountain.

When the Apostles explained to their catechumens the nature of this faith, they must have found it necessary at the same time, to touch upon other doctrines of the Christian system, without which, this could not clearly be understood, as for instance, the doctrine concerning grace, concerning Christ, concerning holiness and good works. They, however, chose only such topicks, as the state and condition of the pupils required, and explained them in the most simple manner. But this topick, this fundamental truth of the Christian religion, concerning an evangelical righteousness, to be obtained by faith in Christ, was peculiarly necessary to the Jewish catechumens, as they were labouring under a very serious error concerning a legal righteousness, to be obtained by good works.

## SECTION. X.

The third subject of the catechetical system relates to the doctrine of baptism, or, in the words of the Apostle in his epistle to the Hebrews, βαπτισμῶν διδασχὴν. As to what the Apostle intended by the use of the plural number in the word βαπτισμῶν, interpreters greatly differ. Some suppose it was used on account of the variety and diversity of men who are baptized, so that, although the rite of baptism is in itself one, yet it may be spoken of as many, as it is received by many individuals. This is the opinion of G. J. Vossius, who says,\* “The word baptisms is used, not because there are many, but because of the baptism of many persons; for the rite is one in kind, but the occasions of administering it, many in number.” But this reason is not satisfactory, as it is repugnant to the nature and use of the language.

Jacob Alting,† and W. Cave,‡ incline to the opinion, that the baptisms here spoken of, ought to be understood of Jewish and of Christian baptism. Others think, that the plural number was used on account of the different baptisms of John and of Jesus Christ, as there has been a dispute among Christians, in what they agree, and in what they differ. To this opinion A. Van Dale.§ appears to lean, but those who will examine the subject carefully, will perceive that it is not sound or probable. For why is not the plural number used in other passages of Scripture, when both the baptisms of John and of Christ are mentioned? Indeed, the baptisms of John and of Christ were not different as to their nature; and although some may have imagined such a difference, it cannot be believed, that the

\* De baptism. disput. 8. § 12 tom. 6. oper. p. 280.

† Dissert. acad. heptad. p. 12.

‡ Antiquit. apost. p. 131.

§ Histor. baptismor. p. 362.



Holy Spirit would accommodate himself to their opinion in his style of speaking. Jo. Gerhard and others suppose that the matter can be decided in few words, by saying, that the number of the word has in some way been changed ; which opinion is neither inconsistent with the sense of the discourse or the nature of language, and unless another should appear more probable, ought to be admitted. Some refer the use of the plural number to the custom of triple immersion ; others to external and internal baptism, as Jo. Brown expresses himself,\* “ The baptisms of the New Testament are of two kinds, external and internal. The former is an outward washing ; the latter an inward purification. The former is the sacrament and sign ; the latter the thing signified. The former is administered by men, the ministers of the church ; the latter by Christ himself through the agency of the Holy Spirit.” By βαπτισμῶν διδάχην, some understand the instruction usually delivered to the candidates for baptism—e. g. Hugo Grotius,† Paullus Colomesius,‡ and F. Spanheim,§ which latter adds—“ this was indeed the common practice of the Apostles : they baptized ; they layed on hands ; but they previously gave instruction concerning faith, repentance, resurrection and judgment, which are the subjects enumerated by our author. It was also necessary for those about to be initiated, to be instructed respecting the nature of those rites, βαπτισμῶν, ἐπιθέσεως χειρῶν, which were usually administered to such.” But as neither of the former interpretations appears probable, we incline to the opinion of those who suppose, that the Apostle, in the use of the plural number, had reference to the practice of the Church formed out of the Hebrew nation ; in which, besides the baptism, which is a

\* Comm. in epist. ad Ebr. p. 317.

† Adnot. ad Matt. xxviii. 19 tom. 2. oper. theol. p. 287.

‡ Observat. sacr. p. 167.

§ De auctor. epist. ad Ebr. part 3. cap. 6. § 5. tom. 2. oper. p. 263.



sacrament of the New Testament, the various washings of the Old Testament were used, and, that the peace of the Christian Church might not be disturbed, were permitted, as ceremonies indifferent in themselves.

But that their catechumens might understand the difference between the washings and baptisms of the Jews, and Christian baptism, the Apostle introduced the doctrine of baptisms among the subjects of catechetical instruction. But why do I enlarge? However the term *baptisms* may be explained, it is very evident from this passage that the Apostles instructed their catechumens concerning Christian baptism. This is denied by Faustus Socinus: he even undertakes from the very words in question, to derive an argument against water-baptism\*—"For the fourth testimony," says he, "we will produce what is written in the beginning of the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the rudiments of Christian instruction are enumerated, and yet water-baptism is not mentioned among them, as has been already shown, chap. xi. For if water-baptism was to be received by all, who wished to be called Christians, so that no one could be called a Christian, before he had been baptized with water; then surely water-baptism would have been not only a rudiment of Christian instruction, but one of the chief rudiments." But these assertions are utterly without foundation. Who can believe, that the Apostle made no mention of water-baptism, that sacrament appointed by God in the New Testament, as a means of faith and eternal salvation, when he expressly enumerates *διδαχὴν βαπτισμῶν* among the catechetical subjects? That water-baptism is meant by these words, can be easily gathered from the fact, that in other passages of Scripture, baptism is evidently spoken of, as of Divine authority, and that the doctrine relating to it, is treated as of the highest importance, and is therefore classed among the fundamental

\* Disput. de baptism. aquæ cap. 16. tom. 1. oper. p. 735

doctrines of the Christian religion, which the Apostle designed here to enumerate. The nature, therefore, of baptism required that the doctrine relating to it, should be unfolded to the catechumens, and that its divine origin, necessity, nature and efficacy should be explained ; the heads of which doctrine, the Apostles undoubtedly delivered to their hearers, in the simple manner, which was peculiar to the catechesis. That these Gospel truths might be fully and distinctly understood by the catechumens, it was necessary to show them, wherein the baptism of Christ differed from the washings or baptisms of the Jews ; and hence the Apostle made mention not of baptism, which is one, Eph. iv. 5. but of baptisms, βαπτισμῶν, chiefly because the Hebrews, those especially who had adopted the opinions and customs of the Pharisees, were still addicted to many washings, although they had embraced the Christian religion. In the time of Tertullian, there were some who were addicted to the same superstitious practice.\* “ But why,” says he, “ do they deliver their discourse with washed hands, indeed, but with an unclean spirit ? For their hands themselves require a spiritual cleansing, from falsehood, murder, witchcraft, idolatry, and other stains, which being conceived in the spirit defile the works of the hands. This is the true cleansing, and not that which many superstitiously perform, washing the whole body before every prayer.”

This topick of baptism, the Apostle, in proper order, subjoins to the two former topics of repentance from dead works and faith in Christ. For the Hebrew catechumens, for whom these catechetical doctrines were principally designed, were adults. In them, therefore, repentance and conversion were antecedent to baptism, and baptism was administered to them as a means of *strengthening* that faith, which, by means of the Divine word, they ought already

\* De oratione cap. 11.

to have received. Hence John baptized only those, who confessed their sins. Mat. iii. 2. Hence also Peter said, *Repent ye and be baptized, every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins.* Acts ii. 38. also Acts viii. 36, 37. If it be asked, whether the Apostles in discoursing concerning baptism, explained at the same time the Holy Supper; we answer, that although this is not expressly asserted, nevertheless it appears probable, inasmuch as their adult catechumens ought to be instructed as well in relation to the Holy Supper, as a confirming sacrament, as in relation to baptism.

As it is observed also by Abraham Calovius,\* that since the adults were to be instructed concerning baptism, as a sacrament of regeneration and renovation, the kindred doctrine of the eucharist, as a sacrament of confirmation, was not to be omitted.

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## SECTION XI.

The fourth general head is the doctrine of the *laying on of hands*. There is here also a great difference of opinion among interpreters, as to the meaning of this phrase, *the laying on of hands*. The various explanations of it have been enumerated by A. Calovius, S. Schmidt,† and J. Alting.‡ It appears both from sacred and ecclesiastical writers, that the ceremonies of the imposition of hands among the ancients were of various kinds. Of those used in the primitive church, F. Spanheim,|| enumerates

\* System loc. theol. tom. 2. p. 5.

† Apodix. artic. fidei p. 22.

‡ Comm. in epist. ad Ebr. p. 591.

§ Acad. dissert. heptad. p. 17.

|| Diatrib. de impos. Manuum tom. 2. oper. p. 871.

seven kinds. He shows that this χειροθεσίαν *laying on of hands*, was administered to persons lately baptized ; to new converts, who had not yet approached the sacred font ; to the sick : to penitents ; to hereticks, who returned to the Christian Church ; to newly married persons when the priests gave them the benediction ; and to those about to be ordained to the ecclesiastical office. B. Von Sanden,\* enumerates other occasions, of the use of this ceremony, and says, that the χειροθεσία was used as a sign of silence, or of a feigned cause ; it was used also in contracting matrimony ; in the solemn administration of an oath ; in sacrifices ; in condemning criminals to death ; in the case of persons lately baptized ; in conferring benedictions upon others ; in healing the sick, and recalling the dead to life ; and in ordaining priests. Consult also Jo. Caspar. Suicer,† and C. Du Fresne.‡

It is most probable, that the ἐπιθέσις χειρῶν, which the Apostle in this place mentions, refers to the ordination of the church ministry ;§ since it is evident, as we learn from 1 Tim. iv. 14. and v. 22. and 2 Tim. i. 6. that the sacred office was solemnly conferred by the *laying on of hands*. Hence the phrase *laying on of hands* is here used for the ordination, or the constitution itself of the church ministry, as in this sense the term is elsewhere employed. The Apostle Paul himself in those passages just quoted, uses the term to denote the constitution of the church ministry ; and it occurs also in the same signification among ecclesiastical writers. Theodoret says “ ἐξετάζειν γὰρ πρῶτον χρὴ τῆ χειροτονουμένην τὸν βίον ἐν’ ᾧ καλεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὴν χάριν τῆ πνεύματος — *For we ought first to examine the life of the person to be ordained, and then to supplicate upon*

\* Dissert. 1. de χειροθεσία. sect. 1.

† Thesaur. eccles. tom. 2. p. 1516.

‡ Gloss. græc. ling. tom. 2. p. 1647.

§ 1 Tim. v. 22.

*him the grace of the Spirit.*" Also Optatus Milevitanus.\* "Donatus has confessed that he has rebaptized and laid hands upon lapsed bishops, which is contrary to the rules of the church." The word χειροτονεῖν also sometimes means to ordain, or to consecrate, and thus is used for an initiation into the sacred office, and an inauguration, of which many examples are adduced by Jo. Caspar Suicer.†

The custom of laying hands upon a person in conferring on him any office, is itself a very ancient one. That it was used among the Hebrews is evident from Num. xxxvii. 18, 23. and Deut. xxiv. 9. It is not therefore wonderful, that the Apostles and ancient Christians retained the same custom, in ordaining to the sacred office. This doctrine concerning the church ministry, the Apostles very properly delivered to their catechumens. For they ought to understand the Divine institution, necessity, nature, and dignity of the church ministry, not only that they might, through the studies and labours of these ministers, make greater progress in knowledge and holiness, by hearing their sacred discourses and interpretations of the Divine will, but also that they might render those duties which they owed them. Especially in the time of the primitive Church, persons lately baptized were to be admonished, not immediately to enter upon the ecclesiastical office, the desire of which at that time was so common, that all wished to be teachers. Jac. iii. 1. ; and Paul found it necessary, 1 Tim. iii. 6., to charge Timothy, to exclude νεόφυτον *a novice*. The Jewish catechumens were also especially to be taught, to turn their attention to the doctrine of Christ and its teachers, and no longer to seek instruction from those Mosaic teachers who required obedience to old ceremonies. For this reason the Apostle very earnestly recommended to the Hebrews, the

\* Lib. 1. de schis. Donat.

† Thesaur. Eccles. tom. 2. p. 1514.



instruction of Christ, Heb. xii. 25. &c., and of those Apostles and other teachers through whom Christ spake. Heb. ii. 1. and xiii. 7, 17.

In the enumeration of these heads of instruction in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the doctrine of the church ministry very properly succeeds that of baptism. For those who were baptized ought next to apply to the servants of God, so that hearing them, they might make progress in saving knowledge, might receive from them the remission of sins, and the sacrament of the Holy Supper, and might hence obtain the necessary helps, for preserving and confirming their faith in Jesus Christ.

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## SECTION XII.

The fifth subject of catechetical instruction is *the resurrection of the dead*, ἀναστάσις νεκρῶν. That by this is to be understood the resurrection of the *bodies* of the dead, is evident from the very nature of the case. The Apostle included this doctrine among the subjects of catechetical instruction, not only because the knowledge of this resurrection, in itself considered, is very necessary to Christians; but especially because the condition of the Hebrew catechumens peculiarly required it. For although God has revealed in the Old Testament the truth concerning the resurrection of the dead, as is evident from Job xix. 25, 26., Psalms xviii. 15., Deut. xii. 2., and other passages; nevertheless in the New Testament the Divine Oracles are much more explicit and clear, both concerning the resurrection, and concerning the life to be enjoyed after it, in heaven, with Christ sitting at the right hand of the Father, and in the society of Angels and of heavenly beings. Wherefore Louis Capell, after making such observa-



tions, adds,\* “ For what have Ezekiel and Daniel communicated concerning the resurrection of the dead (although of all the Prophets, these have written the most clearly on that subject) compared with those things, which are stated so explicitly and fully by Christ throughout the whole Gospel concerning a future life, and a happy resurrection ; by the Apostle Paul in 1. Cor. xv., and in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, concerning the last judgment : and finally, by John in the Apocalypse concerning the Heavenly Jerusalem, and the glorious state of the faithful in it.”

We may add, that many at that time opposed this blessed truth, against whose frauds and malice the catechumens were to be strengthened, lest they should forsake the truth and fall into error. The Pagans were either ignorant of the resurrection of the dead, or did not believe it : wherefore when Paul spoke to the Athenians about the resurrection of the dead, some attempted to ridicule his doctrine. Among the Jews were the Sadducees, who denied it, Acts xxiii. 8. ; some also among the Christians in the time of the Apostles were in the same error, as Paul. 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18., expressly says of Hymeneus and Philetus, and of some in the church of Corinth, 1 Cor. xv. 12. Hence Augustine very justly remarked,† “ In no article is the Christian faith so much opposed as in the resurrection of the body.”

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### SECTION XIII.

The sixth and last subject, is that of *eternal punishment*. The knowledge of this also is necessary to Christians. For we ought to be acquainted not only with the mercy of God,

\* Dissert. in comm. et not. crit. in vetus Testamentum, p. 221.  
In Psalm. 88. tom. 4. oper. p. 713.

but also with his justice ; for both of which there is the same reason. But the most remarkable instance of his justice is in those eternal torments which are to be inflicted on the wicked. Nor can there be a stronger motive to excite men to enter upon and to persevere in a life of faith and holiness, than that derived from the last judgment, and eternal damnation. Wherefore John the Baptist, before commencing his exhortation, attempted to alarm the fears of his hearers by discoursing on this subject, Mat. iii. 7.; Christ used the same motive, Mat. xiii. 33. ; and Paul, before Felix and his wife Drusilla, so stated the doctrine of faith in Christ, that he might at the same time treat of righteousness, of temperance, and (as his most powerful motive) of a judgment to come. Acts xxiv. 24, 25

Besides, there was a peculiar reason, why this doctrine should be proposed to the Hebrew catechumens. For although they could learn from the Old Testament that a final judgment was to be expected, and that in it eternal punishment would be awarded to the wicked, yet there were some things clearly revealed in the New Testament, of which they were yet ignorant, and which it was necessary for them to know. Thus they were to be made acquainted with the Judge, who is Jesus of Nazareth. John v. 27., Acts x. 42., and xvii. 31., and 2 Cor. v. 10. ; and with the rule, which is the Gospel. Rom. ii. 16.

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#### SECTION XIV.

These are the subjects of catechetical instruction, which were proposed by the Apostles to their catechumens, as fundamental truths, or principles of saving knowledge, as they are called in the Epistle to the Hebrews. There are various metaphorical names in the sacred writings, by

which these heads of catechetical instruction are called In Heb. v. 12. they are called τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τῶν θεῶν *the elements of the beginning of the oracles of God*, by a figure of speech, taken from the elements of letters. As therefore these literal elements which as they are necessary for every discourse and are indeed its foundation ; so also the catechetical subjects are the elements necessary for the knowledge of religion, and are for that reason prepared, that with them the acquisition of this knowledge may commence. Thus the word στοιχεῖα is interpreted by the ancient doctors of the Church to mean the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, which children and other catechumens were required to learn. Says Theodoret \*στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τῶν θεῶν, τὰς ταπεινοτέρους περὶ τῶν χρεῖσιν λόγους ἐκάλεσε. Τοῖς γὰρ μηδέπω τὴν πίσιν ἐσχηκόσι τελείαν, τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος προσέφερον μόνα τῆς ἀληθείας οἱ κήρυκες, “ *The more simple discourses concerning Christ, he called first principles of the oracles of God. For to those, who had not yet perfect faith, the preachers of truth only explained those things pertaining to humanity.*” Also Chrysostom τὴν ταπεινὰ στοιχεῖα ἀρχῆς τὴν ἀνθρωπότητά φησιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξωθεν γραμματῶν πρῶτον τὰ στοιχεῖα δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἔτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν λογίων πρῶτον περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος εἶδει διδάσκειν. *In this place he calls humanity, first principles. For as in mere human learning, the elements ought first to be learnt ; so also out of the oracles of God, they ought first to be instructed concerning humanity* Paul calls the catechetical doctrines γάλα *milk*, 1 Cor. iii. 2. Heb. v. 12., concerning which word, we have observed before, that the doctors of the ancient Church understood it to mean the catechetical doctrine. The meaning of this metaphor may be easily perceived. For the Apostle compares the catechumens with new-born infants, whose first and most simple nourish-

\* On this passage of the Apostle p. 417.

† Homil. 3. in Epist. ad Ebr. p. 476.

ment is milk ; and as the word of God, the blessed truth of the Gospel, is the spiritual nourishment of the soul, it is very proper to select for the catechumens that portion and kind of this spiritual food, which is adapted to their nature, and so to prepare it, that they may enjoy it, and be nourished by it. Hence this metaphorical manner of speaking has reference not only to the subjects of instruction, but also to the simple or catechetical manner of delivering them.

To this milk the Apostle opposes *σερεάν τροφήν strong meat* Heb. v. 14., and *βρωμα*, 1 Cor. iii. 2., *solid food*, fit for the stomach of a hearty man, meaning by it the more abstract and sublime doctrines of the Christian religion, so presented, as to be above the capacity of babes in Christ.

So also the word *δεμέλιον*, which is used, Heb. vi. 1. to denote the heads of catechetical doctrine, has reference to an edifice, in which the foundation is rough indeed, but is nevertheless the chief and most necessary part, so that upon it the whole building rests, and must certainly fall if it be removed ; which also may be said of the chief topicks of catechetical instruction. For they constitute the foundation both of the knowledge and practice of religion, and are so necessary that without them nothing can be rightly conceived, understood, decided, or executed. Besides these metaphorical names of the catechetical doctrines, there is that peculiar appellation, in Heb. vi. 1., *ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ χάριτος λόγος*, where *ἀρχή* refers to the topicks, in which instruction is to be commenced, and *λόγος* to the manner of treating or proposing these heads of Christian doctrine or of the doctrine *περὶ τῆς χάριτος*. These first principles, therefore, are nothing else than the topicks of catechetical instruction.

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## SECTION XV.

Having said thus much of the catechetical doctrines, we will now consider the catechumens themselves, whose

minds were imbued in this simple manner with the principles of the Christian religion. These were indeed adults in age ; but in faith and in saving knowledge, they were yet babes, with all the weakness of infancy. Thus they are denominated in the Scriptures themselves. The Apostle, Heb. v. 13, 14. divides Christians into two classes ; one he calls *νηπίος*, *babes using milk* ; the other *τελείς*, *full grown men*, requiring solid food : *every one*, says he, *that ueth milk, is unskilful in the word of righteousness* : *νήπιος γὰρ ἐστὶ* *for he is a babe* : *τελειῶν δὲ εἶναι ἡ ἐσθλὴ τροφή*, *but strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age*. These also are the babes, of whom the Apostle speaks, 1 Cor. iii. 1., *And I, brethren, could not speak unto you, as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ*. Of these there were two classes. Some were entirely ignorant of the word of righteousness, so as not even to have imbibed the milk or the first principles of saving faith. Others were called babes, in comparison with those who were adults in knowledge ; these although they had learnt the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, had nevertheless not yet advanced as far in attainments as those of full age. This distinction also is recognised in the Epistle to the Hebrews. For the Apostle says, that the Hebrews are *babes νηπίος*, *who yet have need of milk* ; and not of strong meat, v. 12. Nevertheless he adds, vi. 1., *therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα*, *let us go on unto perfection* ; and to infants he opposes, v. 14., *τελείς those of full age*. Hence it may be inferred, that the Hebrews were not wholly unskilful in the word of righteousness ; but had already taken the incipient steps in their progress towards perfection.



## SECTION XVI.

As to the particular nations, to which the catechumens belonged, we find the Corinthians and Hebrews especially mentioned in the New Testament; whence it is manifest that both Pagans and Jews were instructed according to this mode. Of the Corinthians, Paul says, (1 Cor. iii. 2.) *γάλα ἐπότισα καὶ ἔβρωμα*, *I have fed you with milk, and not with meat*. Let us then inquire, when and how the Apostle had fed the Corinthians with milk. It appears, from Acts xviii. that Paul, having left Athens, came to Corinth in the fifty-second year after the birth of our Saviour. Corinth was a large, rich, and gay city, distinguished as the residence of the most ingenious artists, denominated by Cicero the light of all Greece, and highly extolled in the writings of Strabo and others. But as it abounded in wealth, it was also notorious for luxury, sensuality and pride, so that its vices are severely censured by the Apostle throughout the whole of his first Epistle to the Corinthians. Luke simply asserts in general, that Paul taught the Corinthians the word of God. Acts xviii. 11. The Apostle himself however, more fully describes the manner in which he discharged the duties of his sacred office, declaring among other things (1 Cor. 3.) that he had planted the Corinthian church; that he, as a wise master-builder, had laid the foundation, even Jesus Christ, than which no man can lay any other; adding also (iv. 17.) that he had sent Timothy to Corinth for the purpose of preaching the Gospel; and Luke asserts, Acts xviii. 5. that Timothy was associated with Paul in founding this church. By means of these sacred ministrations of the Apostle, the Corinthians were "*enriched in all utterance and knowledge*," which divine riches he himself speaks of, 1 Cor. i. 4. : and as Paul continued among them for the space of one year and

six months, Acts xviii. 11., they had opportunity during this time of making very considerable attainments : although the longer the time, which the Apostle spent in organizing this church, the more wonderful is it, that the Corinthians had made so little progress in the knowledge of the Christian religion, and that they required still to be fed with milk and not with solid food. For a more particular account of Paul's labours at Corinth, consult Herman Witsius,\* J. Lange,† and other writers of his life.

Among the catechumens of whom we are now speaking, besides the Corinthians, were the Hebrews, as is evident from the Epistle to them. v. 12. &c., and vi. 1, 2. These were of the Hebrew nation, and had formerly been of the Jewish religion ; some of whom were scattered abroad among other nations ; but the greater part resided in Judea.

There is, indeed, a difference of opinion among interpreters, as to the particular class of Hebrews, to whom that remarkable Epistle in the sacred volume was sent ; some supposing that it was written to the converted Jews who dwelt in Judea, alone ; others, that the Apostle intended to write not only to the Hebrews in Judea, but to any others, who were dispersed abroad. These two opinions, however, can be easily reconciled ; for we suppose, that this Epistle was sent primarily and immediately to those Jews who dwelt in Judea, and afterwards, from them to those also who were scattered abroad. Hence also it is extremely probable, that those were the same Hebrews, to whom Peter wrote both his Epistles, and whom he salutes as strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. 1 Pet. i. 1. For

\* Meletemat. Leidens. p. 39.

† Commentat. Historico. Hermeneutica de vita et epist. apostol. Pauli p. 39.

that Hebrews are to be understood by those, whom the Apostle Peter addresses, has been clearly shown by F. Spanheim.\* These Hebrews ought by this time to have been teachers ; nevertheless they still required milk and not strong meat ; and had need, as the Apostle says, v. 12. to be taught again, the first principles of the oracles of God.

As from their earliest infancy they had been accustomed to the rites and ceremonies of the Levitical worship, and knew that this worship was instituted by God himself, and had been confirmed by Divine miracles and judgments ; these early impressions and habits, and especially their opinion of the eternity and immutability of the law of God given by Moses, exerted so strong an influence over their minds, that they rejected the liberty of the Gospel, offered to them in Christ, fearing even a lawful enjoyment of it.

For this reason, in their knowledge of the Christian system, they had not advanced beyond its first principles, although from their opportunity and their mode of instruction they ought to have made much greater progress. As they were therefore in that state in which they required milk, the Apostle could have repeated and unfolded anew the first principles of the Divine oracles, but as these had been already inculcated, and as the Apostle wished to direct their attention to the sublime and necessary doctrine of the dignity of Christ's Priesthood, and its superiority over that of Aaron, he thought it advisable, only to enumerate the heads of these catechetical doctrines, and to leave the full investigation of them to their own efforts ; at the same time, however, preparing the way for more perfect attainments in saving knowledge. Thus these catechumens also were adult converts, but as to the strength of spiritual life they were yet feeble infants, as is evident from many passages of this Epistle, (especially ii. 3., v. 12., vi.

\* De auctore epist. ad Ebr. part 1. cap. 2. tom. 2. oper. p. 176.

1., x. 25, 32, 33. 34). The Apostle preferred to call them Hebrews rather than Jews, because the name of Hebrews was honourable among believers. 2 Cor xi. 22., Acts vi. 1., Phil. iii. 12. At what time the Hebrews became catechumens, having need of milk, must be determined from the date of the Epistle written to them ; about which there is a great difference of opinion among learned men. It is supposed, by Baronius, to have been written A. D. 60 ; by Bledius, 61 ; by Usher, 64 ; by Scaliger, 58. See F. Spanheim,\* and Jo. Mill.†

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### SECTION. XVII.

Among these catechumens were included Theophilus and Apollos. Concerning Theophilus, there is a considerable dispute among learned men ; whether the name is proper or common ? And if proper, what was the character and religion of the man ? which points have been fully discussed by J. G. Stoltz,\* G. Schelwig,† C. A. Heumann, T. Hase, and J. Hase‡. We agree in opinion with those who suppose Theophilus to be a proper name, for the following reasons. Luke in the beginning of his Gospel, not only addresses Theophilus, as a man well known to himself, with whom he had previously conversed on the subject of Christianity, and whom he was now about attempting to build up in evangelical truth ; but he also applies to him the honourable epithet *καταίεξ*, which implies official dignity, and is the same as *optimi*, being a title usually conferred

\* De auctor. epist. ad Ebr part 2. cap. 4. tom. 2. oper. p. 226.

† Prolegom. Novi Testamenti p. 10.

\* Vindic. Theophili evangelici, Virtemberg. MDCXCIII.

‡ Schediasmat. literar. de Theophilo, cui Lucas evangelium et acta inscripsit edan MDCCXI.

|| Bibliotheca Bremens. class IV. 483. 506. 1049. p. 298.

red by public authority on men of distinction. Thus Paul, who cannot be suspected of flattery, salutes Festus, the Roman Governor as *κρείττον most noble* (Acts xxiv 3); and the letter, which Lysias sent to Felix, has this inscription *Κλαύδιος Λυσίας τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι Φήλικι χαίρειν—Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix, greeting* (Acts xxiii 26). We might add also, that at that time, the name Theophilus was in very common use as a proper name. This point then being established, it is evident that this Theophilus was one of the catechumens, which we infer from the words of Luke *ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ τῶν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν σφάλειαν—That thou mightest know the certainty of those things in which thou hast been instructed* (i. 4). For here the term *κατηχήθης* is actually expressed, nor is the verb *κατηχεῖν* to be understood of the simple hearing of any uncertain rumour, as some suppose. For it is evident from various passages of Scripture, that in its common acceptance it implies elementary instruction; and that such is its meaning in this place is farther proved by the use of the verb *ἐπιγινώσκειν*, which indicates a more perfect understanding of things already known. By whom Theophilus had been instructed, before Luke inscribed to him his Gospel, cannot be determined. Theophylact indeed in reference to this passage observes \* *πρῶτον μὲν ἀγράφως σε κατήχητα, ὦ Θεόφιλε, νῦν δὲ ἐγγράφως σοι περιόδους τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀσφαλίζομαι τὸν σὸν λογισμόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλάβῃται, τῶν ἀγράφως παραδεδομένων. Before, I delivered to you instructions that were not written, O Theophilus, but now I send you a written Gospel, thus fortifying your mind, that you may not forget those verbal instructions which you have received.*

But however this may be; whether he had been instructed by Luke or by some other teacher; one thing is evident, that he was taught by the catechetical mode, and that Luke by inscribing his Gospel to him, wished to give him

\* P. 298.



an opportunity of making greater attainments in divine knowledge, and of more deeply impressing that which he already knew. This appears from the use of the two words ἐπιγινώσκειν and ἀσφάλεια; the former of which implies increase of knowledge, and the latter that degree of increase which is necessary to the certain and full comprehension of truth.

### SECTION XVIII

Besides Theophilus, we have mentioned Apollos, whose praises Luke celebrates (Acts xviii. 24). He was by birth a Jew, a native of Alexandria, and a man of excellent character. He is called, by Luke, not only ἀνὴρ λόγιος *an eloquent man* but also δυνατὸς ἐν ταῖς γράφαῖς *mighty in the scriptures*; which words were added, to indicate that his eloquence was not profane and useless, but was acquired for explaining and proving divine truth, and for vindicating it from errors and false interpretations. Although Apollos excelled in this power of speaking, he had nevertheless only learnt as yet the elements of the Christian religion, and had become acquainted with nothing more than the baptism of John, or the truths which John taught.

For thus Luke adds—ὁὗτος ἦν κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου—*This man was instructed in the way of the Lord*; and a little after—ἐπιστάμεν μόνον τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννης—*knowing only the baptism of John*; by these words very clearly implying that he was classed among the catechumens. For he uses the term κατηχημένον, which, as we have before shown, is to be understood of catechetical instruction, and he also mentions the subject in which he had been instructed—viz. the Christian religion. This is what he means by ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου *the way of the Lord*, which is also called ὁδὸς

τῆς ἀληθείας, *the way of truth* (2 Peter ii. 2.), also by excellence ὁδὸς *the way* (Acts xix. 23). As the way is the rule and guide of the traveller, so also the Christian religion is the rule of faith, and the believer's guide to his heavenly home.\*

By whom Apollos had been taught the elements of Christian doctrine, is unknown. It is the opinion of Le Clerc† that he was taught by certain disciples of John the Baptist; which may be true, though we have no certain evidence of the fact. His knowledge was indeed limited, if it was confined, as Luke says, to the *baptism of John* το βάπτισμα τῆς Ἰωάννου. These words have been differently explained by interpreters. Some understand them only of the *knowledge* of baptism as administered by John, not including the administration of the ordinance; others more justly observe, that the word βάπτισμα implies both the doctrine relating to baptism, and its actual administration; or the whole ministry of John, including the doctrine of repentance and the baptism of water which was a seal of that doctrine.

But although his knowledge of the Christian system was imperfect, he was nevertheless very zealous in proclaiming, in the synagogue, all that he had yet learnt of the way of the Lord and the means of obtaining salvation. When, therefore, Aquila and Priscilla heard him thus *speaking boldly, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly*; this Luke asserts (Acts xviii. 26), using the term ἀκριβέστερον, which implies extraordinary industry and earnest application in investigating the mysteries of divine truth, and in teaching them to others; as therefore Aquila and Priscilla exhibited such diligence for the sake of Apollos, it is manifest, not only that

\* See S. Le Moyne, de voce ὁδὸς, in Var. Sacr. tom. 2. p. 922.

† Historia Ecclesiastica p. 330.

their own knowledge of sacred things was very extensive, but also that that of Apollos was, by this means, greatly increased. Hence also it more fully appears, that Apollos had been one of the catechumens, before he put himself under the instruction of Aquila and Priscilla. But as a full investigation of the character and history of Apollos would be foreign from our present purpose, we would refer the reader on this subject to J. Prideaux,\* C. Vitringa,† H. Witsius,‡ J. Le Clerc§, and other ecclesiastical historians; also to J. C. Wolf.||

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### SECTION XIX.

But while we maintain that the Apostles used the catechetical mode in the instruction of the ignorant, we do not believe that they composed a catechetical compend; or that they adopted a formulary, which they invariably followed. Indeed, when we consider the nature of a compend, and at the same time examine the manner of teaching which Paul and the other Apostles pursued in their Epistles, we must be convinced, that these Divine ambassadors were very far from writing catechisms or systems of theology. They did, indeed, propose every point relating both to faith and practice, which was necessary to salvation; and sometimes they even presented, in few words, the whole sum of theology, or at least distinctly alluded to every article. Thus from the 1st chapter of Luke, J. G. Dorsch¶

\* Opera latina p. 463.

† Observat. Sac. lib. III. cap. 21. p. 799.

‡ Meletemata. Leidens. p. 103.

§ Historia Ecclesiastica p. 380.

¶ Cura philologic in acta apostolorum p. 1282.

• Commentar. in quatuor evangelistas. p. 661.

has deduced the whole doctrine relating to Christ ; and A. Hunn\* in one of his orations has shown, that the first Epistle to the Corinthians contains a system of theology. But as in their manner of treating these heads of Christian doctrine, they accommodated themselves to the nature and capacity of those whom they instructed, and to the condition of the churches to which they wrote, it cannot be expected that the truths which they presented, should have a regular and connected order, or that any thing like a compend or system of theology should be found in their writings. Some suppose, that by the *form of sound words* ὑποτύπωσιν ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων, which Paul recommends to Timothy (2 Tim. i. 13.), is meant something like a formulary, drawn up by Paul, as a guide to Timothy in the duties of instruction. Others, however, do not think it probable that Paul referred to a written form ; although they admit that the word ὑποτύπωσις signifies a *pattern* or *model* ; and that the metaphor is taken from the rough outline which painters are in the habit of sketching, before they begin the shading and filling up of the picture. But the word may also signify an image conceived in the mind, and held up to its own view, to which signification we see no objections in this case. This is the opinion of H. Grotius,† who observes—“ ὑποτύπωσις means an exemplar,” adding, “ by this must be understood an image or form impressed on the mind, which the disciples of Plato call an idea, (ἰδέαν).” This image which Timothy was to place before his eyes, as his model in teaching, was that Divine truth, which had been communicated to him, and by which the Apostle wished him to regulate the instruction of others. Thus Theodoret,‡ μιμῶ, φησι, τὰς ζωγράφους, καὶ κατὰπερ ἔχουσιν τοὺς ἀρχε-

\* Tom. iv. oper. p. 144.

† Adnotat. ad 2 Tim. i. 13. tom. iii. oper. theol. p. 984.

‡ On this passage p. 494.

τίποις προσέχοντες, σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ, ἐκείνων ζωγραφιστὴν εἰκόνας, ἕτω καὶ σὺ ἵκνῃτι ἀρχέτυπον ἔχει τὴν ταῦ ἡμῶν περὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης γεγεννημένην διδασκαλίαν — “In itate,” says he, “the painters, and as they, attending to their models, very carefully copy them; so also do you retain as an original pattern, the doctrine of faith and charity, which you have learnt from me.” Consult also Jo. C. Suicer,\* H. Witsius,† and J. F. Buddæus.‡

In short, if any form had been written by the Apostles, it could not always have been followed in the catechesis. For they had to teach both Jews and Pagans, whose system of religion had been different, and who therefore required a different mode of instruction, and a different order in the precepts, which were to be delivered and explained, as we will more fully show hereafter. Nor is there any evidence that the “*symbolum Apostolicum*” was composed by the Apostles as a catechetical compend. It has long ago been proved by the most learned men, that the Apostles were not the authors of this symbol, although it contains the doctrines which they taught, and is therefore called *apostolical*. Not a word is said of it by the sacred writers, or by the doctors of the church in the three first centuries; the copies of it, which were in the possession of the ancient church, were various: some longer, and some shorter: some containing one thing, and some another; from which and other arguments, it is very evident, that the Apostles were not its authors, as I have in another place§ more fully shown, and have there also referred to the authors who have written on the subject.

\* Thesaur. ecclesiast. tom. 2. p. 1398.

† Miscellan. sacr. tom. ii. exercitat. 16. p. 561.

‡ Isagog. in theologiam. p. 311.

§ Introd. in libros ecclesiæ. Luther. symbolices p. 89.



## SECTION XX.

As to the exact manner in which the Apostles conducted their catechetical instructions, although nothing is expressly said concerning it in the sacred Scriptures; yet we can easily infer what it was, from their usual manner in teaching, as well in their sacred discourses, as in their Epistles and other writings. Hence also, we see at the same time, that the Apostolic catechesis was essentially different, in various particulars, from that of succeeding ages. This difference arose necessarily from the different character both of the teachers and catechumens; and from the different state of the churches themselves. On this point A. Van Dale\* thus observes—"Let it not be supposed, that the same kind of catechetical instruction was used in the time of the Apostles, which obtained in later ages, especially in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the catechumens were divided into distinct grades and classes. For in that first age of Christianity, when the Gospel was preached by the Apostles themselves, many extraordinary and miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit were enjoyed, and especially that peculiar gift, conferred on the Apostles, of trying the spirits whether they were of God. By this, they were able to judge of the hypocrisy of Annanias and Saphyra, of Simon Magus and others; neither did the circumstances of the Apostolic age, and of that infancy, as it were, of Christianity, render necessary or permit that kind of catechesis, which was used at a later period."

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## SECTION XXI.

But that we may more particularly explain the manner in which this catechesis was conducted, we will first consi-

\* *Historia baptismorum.* p. 416.

der the order in which the Apostles delivered to their pupils the heads of doctrine. That this was various, we infer from the variety of their catechumens, who were partly Jews, and partly Pagans, and therefore as they had been attached to different systems of religion heretofore, they could not be conducted by the same process and in the same order to the knowledge of evangelical truths. The same fundamental principles of religion, ought indeed, to be known by both Jews and Pagans, inasmuch as the same saving knowledge is necessary to faith and salvation; still, however, these principles could not be proposed in the catechesis, in the same connexion and order, on account of the different character of these nations, and the different forms of religion to which they had previously been attached. The Jews had learnt many things out of the Old Testament of which the Pagan idolaters were ignorant; and although both were in error, yet their errors were of different kinds, on account of which diversity in the condition of the learners, every one must admit that a difference must have been made in the mode of instruction. This is evident also from those heads of catechetical doctrine, which are enumerated in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and which we have already illustrated. If the Apostle had designed to state the first principles of the Christian religion for a different class of his catechumens, he would have used not only other topicks, but also a different order and connexion. In the instruction of Pagans, he would have treated primarily of God, of Creation, of the fall of our first parents, and of sin, all which subjects are omitted in the Epistle to the Hebrews, because the Apostle had reference there not to Pagans, but to Jews. And as he had to deal with adult Jews, who had already, from their earliest infancy, been instructed in many points of the Mosaic religion, he could entirely omit many things which must otherwise have been stated, and could confine himself to those points in which Chris-

tianity differed from Judaism. Thus J. Alting\* in illustrating the catechetical heads of the Christian religion, which are enumerated Heb. vi. 1, 2, for the adult Hebrew catechumens, among other remarks has the following :—"he has not reference to children who were now for the first time to be imbued with a knowledge of religion ; but to adults, brought up in the Jewish religion from infancy, but now to be initiated in the Christian system. For if it had been his design to begin at the very foundation, where the instruction of a Gentile, or of a child must have been commenced, he would have mentioned other subjects prior to these, as for instance, the subject of God ; of creation ; of the fall of man ; of sin and its punishment ; of the providence of God, both general and particular ; of the church ; of God's covenant with it, &c. But as he was addressing adult Jews, to whom God had formerly revealed his will through Moses and the Prophets, and who from childhood had been instructed in the synagogues in relation to many subjects, and to those especially which we have just enumerated ; it was not necessary for him to treat of those points which were common both to the Jewish and the Christian religion, and with which they were already perfectly acquainted. But he need only enumerate such as were peculiar to Christianity, and in which the two systems were opposed to each other, or such as were intermediate and preparatory to these ; all those, in short, which were necessary in laying the foundation for that new profession which they meditated. This view of the subject not only accounts for the fewness of the points proposed, but also assists very much in understanding them."

\* Academic. dissertation. heptad. p. 3.

## SECTION XXII.

In illustrating the nature of the Apostolic catechesis, we ought not to omit the form or mode of proceeding. Catechetical instruction is often, and indeed, generally, conducted by the use of questions and answers; inasmuch as this form is very well adapted to the nature of catechumens, and is especially fitted for trying as well as for increasing their knowledge. It is necessary however that the questions should be adapted to the capacity of the pupil, and should contain, in themselves, the materials, for easily understanding and readily answering them. Thus J. Hoornbeek\* observes: "The questions, the manner of examining, and the explanation ought to be conformed to the capacity of the catechumens and hearers, (Prov. xxii. 6.—Is. viii. 2.), so that all things may be done with simplicity and perspicuity, for the edification and salvation of all. Wherefore the first and principal study of the catechist is to be able to interrogate with dexterity (Luke ii. 46), so to propose and to vary his questions, that the mind may be insensibly directed to the answer, and may scarcely avoid seeing it: and nothing is so necessary to this end, as to let down the manner of proposing questions to the capacity of children. It is more important to interrogate properly, than to explain; for the former enters into the very nature of the catechesis, and the whole answer follows more or less readily, according as the question has been more or less clearly proposed."

It is evident that our Saviour followed the catechetical mode of instruction so far, as to adapt his discourses to the capacity of the ignorant. It is also evident that the use of questions and answers in teaching was very common among the Jews, of which we have a remarkable example in Matt.

\* *Miscellan. sacr. lib. 1. cap. 12. de catechisationibus* p. 346.

xvi. 13. The Scriptures do not inform us, in what particular form the Apostles delivered their instructions to their catechumens; it is probable, however, that they made use of questions and answers. This we infer from the very nature of the catechesis, and also from the fact, which we have just stated, that the manner of teaching by questions and answers was in very common use at that time. But even if it should appear, that they did not adopt this particular form, still it would not follow that they did not make use of the catechetical mode of instruction. For the chief requisite to the catechesis, is, that instruction be adapted to the capacity of the ignorant, which can evidently be done without the use of questions and answers; just as the use of questions and answers is not so far peculiar to the catechesis, but that they may be employed in communicating the more elevated truths of the Christian religion. Thus various doctors of the ancient church, as Theophilus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyril of Jerusalem, and others, have expounded divine truth in their writings by the catechetical mode, without the use of questions and answers, who are nevertheless very properly classed by B. Bebel\* among the catechists.

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### SECTION XXIII.

We have yet to speak of the qualities for which the Apostolic catechesis was distinguished; which were indeed so remarkable, that their manner of conducting instructions of this kind ought to be a model for all others. The Apostles then, in their catechetical instructions, excelled in these *four* particulars, viz. in simplicity, in holiness, in prudence and in kindness. First, in *simplicity*. The Apostles were

\* Antiq. Eccles. sec. 2. p. 200. and sec. 3. p. 510.



very careful in this respect, so that in selecting and proposing the heads of the Christian religion, in explaining, illustrating, and connecting them, and even in their expressions and forms of speech they might accommodate themselves to the capacity of the catechumens. These catechumens the Scriptures represent as babes, whose capacity was not fitted for obscure, difficult, and abstract sentiments, or for a subtle mode of demonstration.

For this reason the Apostles stated to them the principles of the Christian system clearly and distinctly, without any disguise, free from all ambiguous expressions or artificial ornament, so that there should be not the least difficulty in understanding them. That this simplicity was actually a quality of their instructions is evident as well from the nature of the case, as from the Holy Scriptures. For simplicity enters into the very nature of the catechetical mode of instruction, inasmuch as this mode is designed for men of limited talents and acquirements, who must therefore, if they are taught at all, be taught in a simple manner. This point however is confirmed by the sacred Scriptures, wherein terms are used, in speaking of the catechesis very clearly expressive of its simplicity. We have one instance of this in the expression which Paul uses (1 Cor. iii. 1). *ποτίζεν γάλα, to feed with milk*. For as the nurse, in feeding an infant with milk, neglects all the ceremonies of the regular meal, and is only solicitous that the infant may receive, in the easiest manner possible, the simple aliment designed for the nourishment of its body; so also the Apostle, when he discharged the office of a catechist, abandoned every art of oratory, and laboured for the sole purpose, that the Corinthian babes might receive in a proper manner the spiritual milk, and might be nourished by it. We have also another instance in the word *φυτεύειν, to plant*, used by the same Apostle (1 Cor. iii. 6). For as the soul of man is compared, by the Saviour himself, to

the earth, in which, when cleared of stones and thorns, Christ is to be planted, by means of the incorruptible seed ; so in the same sense Paul used this word, and meant to imply, that he had implanted in the minds of the Corinthians, the first *root of faith* ρίζαν τῆς πίστεως, that is, the first principles of the Christian religion. And as the husbandman who is engaged in planting, is solely intent, that the tender plant may be properly inserted in the earth, and neglects almost every thing else ; so also the catechist is solicitous only for this one thing, that Christ may be rightly and firmly planted in the hearts of believers. There is also still another instance of this, in these words of Paul (1 Cor. iii. 10) κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσαν μοι, ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον τέθεικα. *According to the grace of God which is given unto me, as a wise master-builder I have laid the foundation.*

The foundation of a building is usually unpolished, and the skill of the architect is manifested in giving it simplicity and strength, rather than ornament. Consult C. Vitringa.\*

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#### SECTION XXIV.

The second quality, by which the catechetical instruction of the Apostles was distinguished, is *holiness*, to the desire and pursuit of which, they endeavoured to excite those whom they instructed. For as genuine saving knowledge could not be possessed without that piety and true renovation of soul which is effected by the grace of the holy spirit, the Apostles, when delivering and explaining the principles of the Christian religion, could hardly have avoided recommending at the same time a holy life, and pointing out the rules, by which such a life must be regulated.

This we infer not merely from the nature of the case, but also from those heads of catechetical doctrine, which are enumerated in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Apostles

\* Observation. sacr. lib. 3 cap. 21. sec. 8. p. 805.

delivered instructions concerning the correction of dead works, concerning faith in Christ, concerning the resurrection of the dead and eternal punishment, which topics they must have found it impossible properly and fully to explain without at the same time giving precepts concerning piety and Christian morality. They adopted the same manner of teaching which is pursued in their Epistles, and especially in the Epistles of Paul, in which they usually connect together duties of faith and practice, and after having expounded the mysteries and objects of faith, make the application by pointing out and enforcing practical duties, giving their readers to understand, that true faith cannot possibly exist without holiness of life. The most remarkable examples of this kind of teaching are found in the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews, as has been well observed by that excellent man, Martin Luther \*. There is no doubt, therefore, but that the Apostles conducted all parts of the catechesis not only in a simple but also in a holy manner; so that they pointed out not only the particular duties of a holy life which are required of Christians, but also the relation which faith bears to these duties, and its influence in producing them.

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#### SECTION XXV.

The third particular for which the Apostolic catechesis was remarkable, is *prudence*. Prudence is that quality, by which the best means are selected and properly applied, for the attainment of any proposed end. Hence those catechists, who would perform the duties of their office with prudence, ought to be very careful about the means which they employ, and ought to imitate the Apostles, whose example in this respect is every way worthy of imitation. For although, as we have before said, the sacred volume

\* Tom. 3. oper. Altinburgens. p. 511.

does not expressly inform us as to the particular form, in which they taught the ignorant the first principles of the Christian system, nevertheless it does contain their sacred discourses and letters, and exhibits their usual manner of treating with men on the subject of their eternal salvation; and as in all the other duties of their sacred office they evinced the most remarkable prudence, we cannot doubt, that they manifested the same quality in the catechesis. In the exercise of this prudence, they adapted all their instructions to the character and capacity of their pupils, selected only such subjects as they knew to be most necessary and useful, and so framed their questions, that the catechumens could without difficulty understand and answer them, and could thus retain the truth in their memory. Christ himself in his manner of teaching has left his ambassadors an illustrious example of this prudence. For in all the discourses which he delivered, and in which he pointed out to men the way of salvation, we clearly see, that he kept in view the character of his hearers, and accommodated his instructions to their circumstances. Thus when men came to him groaning under the burden of their sins, and sincerely desirous of saving knowledge; he talked to them of the grace of God, and of the way of salvation, (John iii. 16. v. 24. and vi. 40.); but when the hypocrite and the self righteous man approached him, he expounded to them the law, the wrath of God, the punishment of sin, and the duty of repentance. This illustrious example of our blessed Saviour, the Apostles imitated, whenever an opportunity offered of explaining to men the principles of the Christian religion, and of pointing them to Christ, their leader and guide in their heavenly course; as is evident from the "Acts of the Apostles" recorded by Luke. But if in their sacred discourses and epistles they accommodated themselves to the capacity of their hearers and readers, they undoubtedly did the same in the catechesis; especially

as in this mode of instruction, it was peculiarly necessary to examine the capacity of the catechumens, and to select that form of instruction best adapted to it.

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#### SECTION XXVI.

The fourth quality of the Apostolic catechesis is *kindness*. This quality ought always to be exhibited by masters and teachers, so that they may thus engage the affections of their pupils, and may excite and keep alive within them an ardent thirst for knowledge. In this particular also, we are called upon to admire and imitate the illustrious example of the Apostles, and especially of the Apostle Paul. The most wonderful affection, gentleness, and kindness, pervade the whole of his Epistles. When he writes to the Romans, he accosts both Jews and Gentiles as dear brethren. He warns the Corinthians, as his beloved sons, whom he had begotten in Christ Jesus through the Gospel, 1 Cor. iv. 14, 15. He writes to them out of much affliction and anguish of heart, with many tears, that he may testify his love to them, 2 Cor. ii. 4. He calls the Galatians his little children, of whom he travails in birth again, until Christ be formed in them, Gal. iv. 19. So dear were the Thessalonians to this Apostle, that he was willing to have imparted unto them not only the Gospel of God, but also his own soul; he was gentle among them, even as a nurse cherisheth her children, 1 Thess. ii. 7, 8. He declares that he has the Philippians in his heart, Phil. 1. 7. The same love also is manifested by the other Apostles, Peter, John, and James, in their Epistles; although it cannot be denied, that its most remarkable exhibition is in the character of the Apostle Paul. Hence, then, we hesitate not to affirm, that the Apostles manifested great kindness and love in their mode of conducting catechetical instruction.



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## Tracts

### ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

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- I. ON THE DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING THE RIGHT INTERPRETATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.
- II. DEFENCE OF GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION, PARTICULARLY OF THE INSPIRED WRITINGS.
- III. ON THE FOLLY OF THOSE WHO PHILOSOPHIZE IN INTERPRETING THE SCRIPTURES.
- IV. ON THE DIFFICULTY ATTENDING THE GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.
- V. ON ORIGEN, THE FATHER OF THE GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.



FROM JO. AUG. ERNESTI'S *OPUSCULA PHILOLOGICA CRITICA*;—TRANSLATED BY R. B. PATTON.

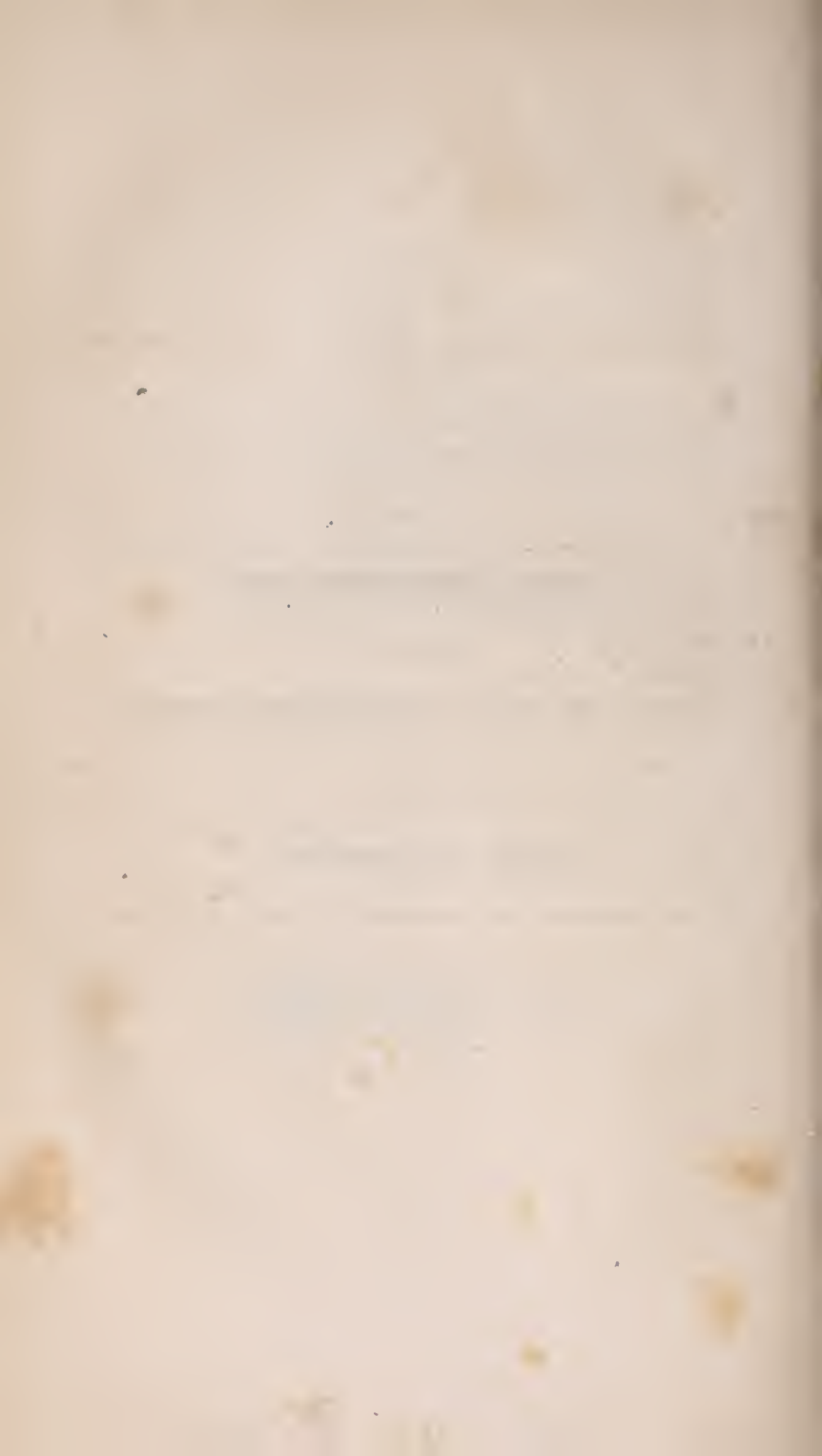
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ON  
**THE DIFFICULTIES**  
ATTENDING  
THE RIGHT INTERPRETATION  
OF THE  
**New Testament.**

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ON THE

**INTERPRETATION OF THE N. TESTAMENT.**

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AMONG the popular errors of the literary community, should be numbered also, in my opinion, that widely disseminated and prevalent notion, that the correct understanding and interpretation of the sacred books, which, collectively, we denominate the New Testament, is a very easy matter, or at least a far easier matter than that of the other Greek writings. For, to what, except to the influence of this hasty notion, can we ascribe the reiterated expressions of those, who either advocate their own ignorance of Greek letters, by saying, *they know enough if they understand their New Testament* ; or excuse the ignorance of another, with these words, *the New Testament, however, he will be able to interpret ?*

It is easy to conjecture whence this notion originated. It is a well known fact, that in our elementary schools universally, the boys commence their Greek reading with the New Testament. This practice, which was introduced with the best intentions by our forefathers, and with a special design to promote the interests of religion, might still be adhered to, without any disadvantage as it regards the knowledge of the Greek language or the understanding of the sacred volume, provided it were regulated by suitable laws, and restricted to such portions as reveal most clearly the principal points of Christian doctrine, and to the familiar narratives and the parables. As it now is, the inexperienced beginner is introduced to all the books with-



out distinction; no becoming selection is made of particular passages. The translation, moreover, is conducted by rendering word for word into Latin; whence arises a latinity frequently as unintelligible as the original Greek. Besides, this mode of proceeding is comparatively easy. It demands no other aid than what is furnished by a common school-lexicon, from which the signification of detached words may be obtained; or by a literal vernacular or Latin version. When men have been accustomed for many years, and inured by education, to this method, they begin gradually to imagine that they understand also what they are able to translate in so puerile a manner,—especially when they see others, whose example they think themselves obligated or competent to follow, translating in the very same manner, and not only tolerating such translations, but receiving and approving them as good, demanding nothing better. How is it possible for those who are thus instructed and educated, to believe that the interpretation of the New Testament is a difficult matter, or to suspect that it calls for much and various learning?

I should have been disposed, however, to regard this error, like very many others, as excusable, on the ground that it proceeds from the natural weakness of the human mind; or as meriting only silent contempt; if it did not operate greatly to the disadvantage of learning, and especially of sacred learning, an effect which those peculiarly are bound to prevent, who sustain the profession, and, as it were, the guardianship of useful letters. For it is manifestly a fact, that the majority of those who devote their attention to theology, bestow but little or no time and study to the cultivation of Greek letters, and of polite learning in general, for this special reason, that they imagine they stand in need of a very slender knowledge of these things, for the understanding, as well of theology generally, as of the sacred books in particular. Far different from this was

the opinion of Luther, that admirable man, who esteemed theology, in the highest and genuine sense, to be nothing else than grammatical\* knowledge, that is, the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew letters. By means of this knowledge especially, he confessed he had been enabled to restore purity to religion, and to silence the adversaries. The most distinguished theologians, after him, maintained the same opinion. Their disciples also, with Glass, in his most celebrated work on sacred philology, again and again insisted, that the better *grammarian* a man is, the better *theologian* he will be. How detrimental and destructive the contrary sentiment has already proved, and is still, as I fear, about to prove, to the interests of Christianity, is abundantly shown by experience, and has already been demonstrated by others of distinguished learning and talents. It is our design, therefore, in the present discourse, to prove how difficult the interpretation of these books is ; not any interpretation at random, nor such as may suffice for popular discourses ; but legitimate, and worthy of the man who aspires to be a teacher of sacred things : indulging the hope, that we may stimulate, perhaps, the minds of the young, to a more diligent study of that department of letters, with the knowledge of which every one should be furnished who desires to be successfully employed in sacred interpretation.

The difficulty of this interpretation is owing, partly to

\* It is well known to those who are conversant with the works in our language, whether original or translated, on the subject of *interpretation*, that the terms *grammatical*, *grammarian*, and *grammar*, are there employed in the comprehensive sense of the corresponding Latin terms, and nearly equivalent to our *philological*, *philologist*, and *philology*. It has not, therefore, been deemed advisable to restrict them, in this translation, to the technical sense which they more commonly bear; and when they occur in the following pages, they will, in most cases, be employed in the comprehensive sense above alluded to. (Tr).

the books themselves, and partly to their interpreters. The first occasion of difficulty is not, however, inherent in the sacred books, nor does it spring originally from them; but is attributable rather to the operation of time and of external circumstances. For, as the transactions of Christ and of the Apostles, and the whole method of obtaining eternal felicity, are set forth in these books, the Holy Spirit undoubtedly suggested every thing to the writers of them in such a manner as to render them intelligible even to the vulgar and illiterate; especially as it was foreseen, that men of this character would more easily and readily receive the doctrine of salvation, than the noble and the learned: see 1 Cor. i. Accordingly the greatest degree of perspicuity, and such as adapted itself to the capacity of the common people, was employed both in the matter and the language; unless, perhaps, allowance should sometimes be made for the peculiar genius of the writer; as in the case of Paul, in whose Epistles are some things which Peter denominates "*hard to be understood*" And this appears to me to be the true, and perhaps the only reason, why we find the Hebraeo-Greek dialect employed throughout all the books alike. For as to the opinion, maintained by some, that the purity of the Greek language is preserved inviolate in these books, it is, indeed, (as Hemsterhusius,\* an eminent scholar, and one who doubtless knows what is good Greek and what is not, rightly remarks,) the exceedingly silly notion of men whose knowledge of the Greek extends to certain words derived from the dictionaries, but who are egregiously ignorant of the nature and genius of the language.

In those times, the Jews, especially such as resided in Judea, spoke commonly the Hebraeo-Syriac dialect; and the Hebrew writings of Moses and the Prophets were

\* Lucian l. p.300.

read in the synagogues, and not the Greek translation, as some persons, unacquainted with the history of that age, suppose. This mistake has already been corrected, however, by Salmasius, in his *Remarks upon the Hellenistic dialect*, and by Scaliger, in some passages of his *Observations upon Eusebius*. These same Jews regarded also with the greatest hatred, both the Greeks and their language. When the Jews,\* both those of Palestine and the others from the Greek cities of Asia,† understood that Paul was about to address them in Hebrew, they became more quiet than they had been before, when they expected he would address them in Greek. He was charged by the Jews, even by those of the Greek cities in Asia, with the crime of having introduced Greeks into the temple : which mistake originated in this circumstance, that they had seen him in company with Greeks, and supposed him to be a favourer of that nation. Josephus also, after having devoted himself to the study of Grecian literature, with a thorough knowledge of the rules of grammar ; and after having attained, by his great talents and application, to such proficiency that he seemed to have approached as nearly as possible to the style of the ancient Attics, (a fact which no one, who is a competent judge in such matters, will deny,) neglected, notwithstanding, the genuine and elegant pronunciation, in compliance with the feelings of the Jews ; because they regarded with disapprobation all those who diligently cultivated foreign letters, and studied the elegancies of speech.‡ So that, if any persons made themselves acquainted with the Greek language, it was from necessity, because they were thrown among Greeks, but they learned it, without regard to the rules of grammar, from their daily intercourse with Greeks, either of the common sort,

\* Acts xxii. 1, 2.      † Acts xxi. 27.      ‡ Ant. Jud. xx. 11.

and employing, as usual, a corrupt idiom, or at least of that class who spoke the Macedonian dialect, which had been spread with the Macedonian empire over all that portion of Asia. Those of the Apostles, therefore, who understood the Greek, (which is not historically true of all,) did not speak with the accuracy of grammarians, nor with the elegance of the Attics. For all of them were common and illiterate men, with the exception of Paul; and he too was brought up in the school of the Pharisees, not in that of the Greeks. As to the fact, that certain expressions from the Greek poets occur in his writings, this no more proves that he had read those poets, than the practice of citing such expressions as these, "*labor improbus omnia vincit*," "*optat ephippia bos*," and the like, proves that those who use them have read Virgil and Horace. Nor, indeed, so far as this fact goes, does it disprove the assertion of Chrysostom,\* that Paul was unacquainted with the Greek; which assertion, however, I think is abundantly refuted by the facts recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.† It is certainly very improbable, that he who was so devoted a disciple of the school of the Pharisees, who emulously strove to conform to its institutions, and who desired to render his profession conspicuous, should have been very studious of the Grecian arts and letters, which the Pharisees, according to Josephus, held in abhorrence. If these things be so, the inspired writers, when they used the Greek language, could not be expected to write with elegance and purity, particularly on subjects pertaining to the Jewish and Christian religion. They necessarily conveyed, literally, in so many Greek words, the thoughts which, when revolved in their minds, were associated with Hebrew expressions.

\* Tit. ii. Homil. 4.

† xxi. 25.



But even admitting that, from the reading of the Greek writers and daily exercise, they possessed the ability to write with purity and elegance concerning other affairs of human life; still it would not follow, that they would be able, forthwith, to write with the same purity and elegance on matters pertaining to the Christian religion. For, it is well known to those who have attained to any skill in the art, to be a work which demands considerable talent, very much exercise, and arduous labour, to transfuse, for the first time, an elegance of diction into any science or subject which is new.

Nec me animi fallit, Graiorum obscura reperta  
 Difficile illustrare Latinis versibus esse,  
 Multa novis verbis præsertim cum sit agendum,  
 Propter egestatem linguæ, et rerum novitatem, &c.\*

How unfavourably were those regarded by Cicero†, who first ventured to discourse in Latin on philosophical subjects. It was an undertaking to which the talents of Cicero alone were adequate, to set forth the philosophy of the Greeks in a Roman dress, and to present, in an elegant Latin diction, the doctrines of their philosophers. Josephus\* also, a man in other respects modest and unassuming, affirms nevertheless, confidently, that no one among the Jews was able to discourse, in the Greek language, to which he was particularly devoted, upon the Jewish affairs, drawn from the original Hebrew sources, with as much elegance and accuracy as himself. It is well known also, how much celebrity Lucretius and Virgil promised themselves, because they had been the first to clothe in the elegance of Latin verse, the one, the philosophy of Epicurus, and the other, the affairs of agriculture.

\* Lucretius l. 137.    † Acad. l. 2.    ‡ Ant. XX. 11.



Avia Pieridum (says Lucretius l. 925) peragro loca, nullius ante  
 Trita solo; juvat integros accedere fontes  
 Atque haurire: juvatque novos decerpere flores,  
 Ins. gnemque meo Capiti petere inde coronam.

And Virgil sings exultingly—\*

———Tentanda via est, qua me quoque possim  
 Tollere humo, victorque virum volitare per ora. &c.

In our own days also, we have frequently met with men, in other respects able, who furnish a very tolerable latinity, whenever they write on those subjects on which they have been accustomed for some time to express their sentiments in the Latin language, with the classic ancients for their model; but as soon as they betake themselves to their own science, to theology, for example, or to philosophy, their Latin assumes a semibarbarous appearance; for this reason, that a man who writes correctly in any one department in which he has exercised himself for a considerable time, cannot, as a matter of course, succeed as well in another department. How then could it be demanded or expected of the Apostles, who style themselves *unlearned men*, ἀγασμαῖους, that they should be forthwith competent to write on subjects entirely new to them. and in a foreign language, with as much refinement as if they had been born at Athens, and had all their lives employed this dialect? This view of the subject is strikingly corroborated by the example of Luke, who is universally supposed to have been better versed in the Greek than the other inspired writers. The first four verses of his gospel, which constitute the preface and announce his design, are composed in a style which would suffer nothing in comparison with that of Polybius or Diodorus or other Greek writers of this class, who, although not the very best, nor purely Attic, are still good

\* Georg. iii. 8.

writers. But in the fifth verse, in which he first begins to speak of the subject itself of which he had undertaken to write, the complexion of the style is as completely Hebrew as if the narrative had been translated word for word out of a Hebrew book. Still, I confess, I am somewhat inclined to the opinion, that this mode was adopted by Luke, not because he was not competent to write in a different style, but because, for satisfactory reasons, he preferred to neglect it. On this point however it may be well to enlarge.

From this short preface of Luke, of which I have just spoken, and from some other passages, it is manifest that he possessed the ability to write on ordinary subjects with purity, at least with such purity as those times permitted. Nevertheless, even on such occasions, he employs a phraseology not Greek but Hebrew. For example, when he describes a person as *saying*, *seeing*, or *doing* any thing, he commonly adds the following expressions, "*And he opened his mouth*," "*and he lifted up his eyes*," "*and he arose*," &c. These are redundancies which characterize languages in their pristine simplicity. They remained in vogue, in the language of the Hebrews, because the study of eloquence and letters, never flourished among them. The Greeks, however, expunged them, together with many other similar vestiges of ancient simplicity. Still, we cannot entertain a doubt but Luke was able, in such cases, to have written more tersely and unexceptionably, in conformity with the usage of the classic Greek, if such had been his will. It follows therefore that he purposely gave the preference to the style and usage of the Hebrew. And this preference I conceive to have been a very wise and beneficial one.

At the time when Christianity was first promulgated, the Jews were permitted the free exercise of their religious rites throughout the whole of western Asia, and a large portion of Europe which acknowledged the Roman sway

A considerable number of them enjoyed also the privileges of Roman citizenship, as Josephus expressly informs us.\* And here we cannot but admire the wisdom and providence of God, which so manifestly turned the avarice of the Romans to the advantage of the Christian religion, just then about to be spread abroad over the face of the whole earth. Owing to this circumstance, an easy access and introduction was offered to the Apostles, to all the more opulent and illustrious cities, which the Jews, in their thirst for gain, had selected as the abode of their fortunes; and to the city of Rome itself, in which, under Cæsar the Dictator, a great multitude of Jews resided, beyond the Tiber, and assembled, without molestation, in the synagogues, on the sabbath, for the purpose of celebrating their religious rites, according to the customs of their country.† The conduct of Paul himself abundantly proves, that in all the Grecian cities, his first attention was directed to the Jews, and that he commenced his instructions relative to the doctrine of Christ, in their synagogues, on the sabbath, where the Jews were assembled at that time for the purposes of religion. And, from what I have advanced above, it scarcely admits a doubt, but Paul addressed them there in the Hebrew language. But, inasmuch as, both at Rome and in the Grecian cities, there were many followers of Judaism, who were not of the Jewish nation, and many also of these had embraced Christianity, Paul and the other apostles wrote their epistles in Greek, in order that all might understand them, without the aid of an interpreter; and for the very same reason, beyond a doubt, it was deemed expedient that the historical books also of the New Testament should be written in Greek. But as they consulted the interests of

\* Ant. XIV. 10.

† Philo Leg. ad Cæs. p. 1014, at which place see also the Engl. Edit. of Mangey.

the Greeks, in their choice of the language, it behooved them to have special regard to the Jews, in its fashion and form. So that, even admitting the inspired writers were fully competent to employ a style which would evidently comport with the usage and elegance of the classic Greek; still, it is perfectly obvious, from what I have said before, that they would most carefully have avoided it, lest they should give offence to the Jews, and their language should thus become a hinderance to the reception and understanding of the matter—an inadvertency which would ill become a wise man, much less an inspired Apostle. Add to this a still weightier reason, that if they had employed the style of writing which is found in Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle, they could not have been comprehended by those to whom or for whom they wrote. Nor should this be a matter of uncertainty or doubt to any one. For a person may fully comprehend those who discourse familiarly, on ordinary matters, and such as concern the practice of common life; who would not, from this circumstance alone, be able to comprehend those who discourse with elegance on learned topics. The old woman at Athens, who understood Theophrastus when he discoursed with her about pot-herbs, would certainly not have comprehended his subtle discussions in the Lyceum, on the nature of the gods, and on the chief good. Neither would the common people at Rome, I apprehend, have understood the *Academica* or the *Topica* of Cicero, merely because they understood his orations against the Agrarian law, and against Cataline. And we are not to suppose, that this is owing to the matter rather than the words. Do we not meet with men, even learned men, who fail to comprehend, and even regard as obscure, what is written in a purer and more elegant Latin style, on some art or science sufficiently familiar to them; but who easily comprehend, or at least, think they comprehend, those writers on the very same subjects, whose style

is harsh and barbarous? The opinion entertained by some, that *he who understands the subject, understands the words also*, is entirely without foundation. The ideas of Plato on this subject, are far more consonant with the truth, that *he who thoroughly understands the words has a clear perception of the matter also*. I am of opinion, therefore, that the common Jews although resident in Grecian cities, were unable to understand Philo and Josephus, writers of the greatest elegance, on account of this very elegance of diction; and I am the more inclined to this opinion, because this same elegance in Josephus, has presented difficulties to many learned men, (to Schotan, for example,) of modern times.

This being the case, we must conclude that the inspired writers are excusable, and not at all worthy of reprehension, because they either had not the ability to write with all the elegance of the classic Grecian diction, (especially as they wrote not for the sake of promoting their own reputation, nor of their own accord; from such writers, indeed, this elegance of style may justly be demanded;) or if they possessed, perhaps, the ability, were unwilling to exercise it; because they preferred an uncultivated discourse with perspicuity and the profit of the readers, to an elegant discourse with their own renown. Nay indeed, they must be thought to have acted, in this respect, with uncommon wisdom; whether this plan were suggested to them by their own prudence, and a regard, superior to every other, for the public good, or, as is most probable, by a higher and a celestial power. For their writings were thus rendered intelligible to all those for whom they were originally designed; inasmuch as these were accustomed to the Hebrew mode of discoursing on religious matters, and to the forms of speech peculiar to the Hebrew language. I consider, therefore, the position which I assumed at the outset, as fully established—that the sacred books are, in themselves, with the



exception of a few passages, eminently perspicuous, and, at the time of their publication, could easily be comprehended by all, even by the common people and the unlettered multitude, without any assistance from the talents and learning of an interpreter. So that, the difficulty of interpreting them, which is the subject of our present discussion, originated from some other source, concerning which we shall now proceed to speak.

And here I shall ingenuously acknowledge, that from the time that I could first distinguish between the sounds of words and things, and between the signification and purport of the word and the signification and purport of the thing: especially, from the time that I began to entertain any clear views of the business of interpretation, the legitimate and just interpretation of the New Testament appeared to me much more difficult and troublesome than that of Homer, Thucydides, Polybius, and the other Greek writers. Nor do I think I am mistaken in this opinion. For, if this be not the fact, how has it come to pass, that we possess, upon no Greek or Latin writer, even the most difficult, so few tolerable commentaries, as upon the New Testament; so many, on the other hand, and such voluminous commentaries upon the latter, concerning which it may justly be said, as Bernard, a very learned Briton, in his notes to Josephus iv. 6. 2., says concerning Cornelius a Lapide, Menochius, and others, that they serve only to exhaust the talents and waste the time of Theologians? To what profane writer can we point, whose interpreters so uniformly and so obstinately disagree, on so many and such important passages, as the interpreters of these writings have done for many ages,—those very interpreters, too, who were most clearly agreed on the principal points of Christian doctrine? Why should this be so, unless many and great difficulties present themselves in rightly interpreting them. In other writings, however, this difficulty is



wont to proceed, either from the want of approved copies, or from some fault of the writers themselves who, through ignorance or negligence, have failed, perhaps, to express themselves with sufficient perspicuity; or, from some obscurity in the subjects of which they treat. That no one of these sources of difficulty exist in reference to the inspired books, has been frequently proved by others, and has been already partially shown by myself also. The whole difficulty, therefore, must be exterior to the books themselves; arising partly from time, partly and principally, from the sluggishness, or levity, or perverseness, of the human mind.

In all those books which are not devoted to subjects in their nature uniform, durable and necessary; or which contain many things interspersed, which are naturally subject to decay and change, with the progress of time; in all such books, time and age avail much to occasion a certain degree of obscurity and difficulty. Those books, on the contrary, which treat of subjects necessary and unchangeable, possess, at all times, an unchanging and a lasting perspicuity. To the former class belong those books which are conversant about affairs of ordinary life, and accommodated to the taste and apprehension of the multitude; for such affairs are wont to receive a peculiar complexion in different nations, and submit to no laws but those of custom, which, from the fickleness of the human mind, are arbitrary and mutable. The latter class comprises those books which treat of things universally intelligible, necessary and immutable. The influence of so many centuries has detracted nothing from the clearness, nor added any thing to the difficulty of Euclid; while the orators, the poets, and the historians, on the other hand, have been rendered more difficult to understand in proportion to their antiquity. Now, as the sacred books, of which we are treating, belong to this latter description, inasmuch as they are either historical in their nature, or contain a multitude of allusions

to the condition, circumstances, manners, and institutions of the times in which they were written, they must have been subjected gradually to a considerable share of difficulty. And this difficulty is greater in these books than in many others, because their contents are so very various. For the right understanding of Demosthenes, for example, or Livy, or Tacitus, an acquaintance with the manners and institutions of one nation will suffice ; but, for the right understanding of these books, is required a knowledge of the manners and customs of the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, which circumstance evidently augments the difficulty. For, in consequence of this, a competent interpreter of these books must possess, what Casaubon demands in a good commentator of Josephus, an uncommon familiarity with Hebrew, Greek and Latin learning. And as this is a combination rarely to be met with in one individual, it is not to be wondered at, that Josephus has, as yet, obtained no competent expositor ; and that the books of the New Testament have found so few good interpreters ; while so much has been written, in the shape of commentary, of such a character as to appear contemptible in the eyes of the thorough Biblical scholar.

But the language itself, which the inspired writers employed, has been subjected to a far greater difficulty, by the operation of time. For although this language was, as I have before remarked, in the age of those writers, in the highest degree intelligible to all ; it became obscure, in the first place, shortly after their time, to those who were unacquainted with the Hebrew language and its peculiar genius ; and subsequently to all, when the Hebrew ceased to be a living language. Nor is the language of the inspired writers obnoxious to this difficulty alone, in common with all other books in the dead languages. It is subjected to a peculiar difficulty also, and, perhaps the greatest of all. For the other dead languages, the Latin and Greek, for ex

ample, bear a very close resemblance, in their modes of expression to the living languages of the more cultivated nations ; while the Hebrew is placed at the farthest remove, in its genius and spirit, from these as well as from the Greek and Latin languages. This circumstance occasions considerable difficulty ; for there is a natural tendency, perhaps, in all, in reading or writing any thing in a foreign language, to examine the expressions and idioms of this language, by the expressions and idioms of their own, and to limit and interpret the former with reference to the latter ; and it is only after much practice and exercise, that they are enabled to withdraw the attention from their vernacular tongue when interpreting or employing another.

How long then, and how arduous, is the way which alone conducts to the thorough understanding of the spirit of the Hebraeo-Greek dialect ? As the idiom of the New Testament so closely resembles the Hebrew, it is acknowledged by those who have any discernment in such matters, that the best furniture for the understanding of the New Testament idiom, is a familiar acquaintance with the Greek translation of the Hebrew books ; that is, a careful comparison of this translation with the Hebrew original ; learning, in the first place, from this diligent comparison, to understand the Greek version, and then collecting from it what senses we ought to attach to certain words, and what meaning to certain forms of speech, in the New Testament. For, while I am aware and acknowledge, that light is sometimes reflected from this translation upon the Hebrew text, I still must think that it derives more illustration from the Hebrew, than the Hebrew from it. The truth is this. Those translators, whoever they were, pursued a two-fold course, in converting the Hebrew into Greek. Sometimes, when they were able, they presented, as it seems to me, the force itself of the expressions, in appropriate Greek words, in a manner accommodated to the spirit and usage of the

Greek language as it then obtained. Much more frequently, however, their object seems to have been, not so much to present the meaning, as to express the Hebrew, word for word, preserving the Hebrew idiom, form, and construction, and at times retaining the Hebrew words themselves. Examples of the former mode are the following:—**יְחִיד** denotes *one only, sole*. The Greek version Gen. xxii. 2., translates it *ἀγαπητός* which literally means *beloved*, instead of *μονογενής only begotten*, as Aquila, Symmachus, and Josephus have rendered it. The Septuagint translators adopted, therefore, the more refined and elaborate Greek expression: see Suidas at this word with Kuster's remarks. This use of the word *ἀγαπητός* by the Septuagint may serve to explain its use in Mat. iii. 17., Mark i. 11, &c. Again, the phrase **הָרַקַע אֶתָם** Num. xxv. 4. which the Chaldee and other interpreters, both Greek and Latin, explain of *suspension*, the Septuagint translates *παράδειγματίσιν αὐτοῦς expose them to public ignominy*, which translation however, Casaubon disapproves.\* Indeed, the expression is a most elegant one, by which it is declared, that God commanded Moses to inflict, on the princes who had defiled themselves in so impious a manner, a punishment of extraordinary ignominy, in a conspicuous place, before the eyes of all, according to the custom and practice of the people. For the verb *παράδειγμαλιζειν* denotes *the infliction of any public ignominy*, by means of which, the turpitude of some one, is openly declared for the purpose of an example; and hence also some passages of the New Testament may receive illustration. On the other hand, in the very same passage is added by the Septuagint translators *κατέναντι τοῦ ἡμίου* which means *in a conspicuous place before the eyes of all*, a Hebraism which renders the word *παράδειγμαλιζειν*

\* Adv. Baron. Exercitat. xxi. n. 76.

superfluous. Again the expressio יָנִיָּוֶר Jos. vii. 21 is accurately translated, and better, in my opinion, than by the other interpreters, *ψιλή ποικίλη a delicate embroidered* (understand) *garment*, similar to those of the most costly and magnificent kind; for these words allude, manifestly, to the nature and character of the Babylonian mantle, which was shorn (*ψιλή*) and therefore soft and delicate, as the *ψαλλαι Περσικαί* in Athenæus, B v. p. 197., and, at the same time, variegated (*ποικίλη*) with inwoven figures.\* Again, in 1 Sam. ix. 2 Saul is styled בָּחֹר which the Septuagint renders *εὐμεγέθης tall*, in which they have followed the sense alone, for בָּחֹר literally denotes *chosen, choice*, although it is also spoken of *young men*. So much for the examples of the former mode; of the latter, we shall present the few that follow. In Deut. xxvi. 13. we have these words *ἐρῆς ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου, &c. thou shalt say before the Lord thy God, &c.* This phrase, employed in such a connexion, will be unintelligible to any one who is not familiar with the corresponding Hebrew phrase in the original. Josephus† renders it correctly *ἀντικρυς τοῦ τεμενίσματος over against the altar*. Again, in Judges xvi. 19. and elsewhere *ταπεινώσαι* is used to denote *the subduction of the natural strength*, which sense would not readily be suggested by the Greek alone. nor would the meaning be more obvious in the 20th chapter, where it is spoken of *a rape*. Again, in 1 Sam. viii. 3, the Hebrew word בָּצַע which, in that passage, imports *lucre or avarice*, the Septuagint translates *συντέλεια impiety*, which signification the word, it is true, sometimes admits, but not in this passage. Again, these same translators frequently, as in Gen. xix. 19., xx. 13., employ the word *δικαιοσύνη justice or righteousness*, in the sense of kindness or benignity. In this instance also the Greek word is rendered intelli-

\* See Js. Vossius. on Catullus p. 197.

† Ant. Jud. iv. 22.



ble by comparing it with the corresponding Hebrew expression רָצָה. To this class belong also such forms of speech as the following : ἐκλέξασθαι ἐν τινὶ *to love any one*, ἀποστέλλειν ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλων *to send by the hand of angels*, and innumerable others. Is it not obvious, then, that a knowledge of the Greek is requisite for a correct understanding of the passages of the former class ? and of those of the latter, an assiduous and careful comparison of the Hebrew original with the Greek translation ? And is it not manifest, how great an amount of labour and learning this occupation demands ?

But here a new and by no means inconsiderable difficulty presents itself, arising from the Greek language itself, and the use that is made of it in interpreting the books of the New Testament. For, while we are constrained to acknowledge, that much assistance in rightly discharging this duty, may be expected from the profane writers, it must at the same time be confessed, that much caution and discernment are necessary, which, from the circumstances of the case, but few can exercise. If I mistake not, a goodly number of those who have aimed to elucidate the inspired writings by means of the profane Greek authors, have failed most egregiously, and have impeded rather than advanced the business of interpretation. I am inclined, therefore, to regard it as far more easy to abuse the knowledge of the Greek language, than to use it aright, and in its proper place. On the abuse of the older glossaries, in interpretation, I have spoken already, and have shown how difficult it is, in using them, to observe a regard for reason and moderation. How many also, of eminent attainments in Greek learning, have erred in their use and application of the Greek poets and philosophers ! What can we expect, then, from those whose acquaintance with this department of learning is but superficial, and who are desirous, nevertheless, of throwing light upon the sacred writings, from



this source, whenever some hasty academical performance, for form's sake, is to be prepared? It matters not with what particular class of writers their reading has been employed, they long to contribute something to the elucidation of the New Testament, without considering whether the books they aim to illustrate, and those from which they draw their illustrations, be in any manner connected or related. Time would fail me to enumerate the examples, which are at hand, of this error.

In fine, if any one desires to make a proper use of the Greek profane writers, in illustrating the diction of the New Testament, so far as this corresponds with the ordinary classical diction of the Greeks, it will be necessary for him, in my opinion, to give diligent heed, in the first place, to this caution, not to undertake to translate and explain by the aid of the profane Greek, detached words and phrases, in regard to which the Hebrew usage is rather to be consulted; in which respect, it is incredible to relate, what mistakes have in all ages been committed. Many interpretations entirely foreign from the design of the Holy Spirit, have thus been introduced. In the next place, he must see to it that such writings alone be employed, for the purposes of illustration, as belong to the popular class, and, indeed, to the very same class with the books of the New Testament. The age, also, in which the writers flourished, must be considered; for in the Greek as well as in the Latin, each several age possesses a different form and character of style, nor will the writers of any other age be so successfully employed for this purpose, as those of the age from which the inspired writers themselves derived their diction and style. It was observed, a long time since, by men of learning, that the language of Polybius in particular, presented many things which bore a striking resemblance to the diction and style of the inspired writers. I shall briefly explain what I take to be the reason of this

resemblance. For, to assert, as some one has done, that the Holy Spirit peculiarly delighted in the diction of Polybius, is absurd beyond expression.

From the time that Greece was first subjected to the Macedonian sway, that exquisite and elegant dialect of the Athenians, which is found in Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and others of that class and age, began gradually to decline, and was succeeded by that which is usually known by the name of the common dialect, although it may, perhaps, with more propriety, be denominated the Macedonian. For we cannot entertain a doubt, that the Macedonian domination was fatal to this Attic elegance, and introduced this other dialect, especially when we find the admirable dialect and style at Rome also, expiring with liberty. It is this common or Macedonian dialect, which we find employed by Philip the king, in his letters, as cited by Demosthenes. Hence new significations of words were adopted, and new forms of speech, unknown to the ancient Attics, were introduced, as any one may easily observe who reads with attention Polybius and other writers of that class. At length, some men of a more cultivated taste, aware of this variation from the standard of purity, began to imitate the style and dialect of those ancient Attics, and may aptly be compared with those illustrious men, who, after the revival of letters, some centuries since, devoted themselves to the imitation of Cicero and his contemporaries. This same dialect, of which I have been speaking, crossed the sea with the Macedonian empire, and prevailed throughout western Asia and in Egypt. It need not excite our surprise, therefore, if the Septuagint translators and the writers of the New Testament, who lived in those parts, and had not aspired to the elegance of the ancient Attics, are found to bear a resemblance to the writers of this common dialect, and to have many things in common with them. Let this, however, suffice in regard to the

difficulty of interpreting the New Testament, so far as it proceeds from the character and form of the language.

There are other difficulties still remaining, both numerous and great, with which the interpreter must conflict, at the present day, which owe their origin to the weakness and corruption of the human mind, and the mistakes of interpreters themselves. It is not my design, however, here to speak of the rash and erroneous opinions introduced by many in regard to the mode and nature of the interpretation, either of the whole inspired volume, or of the New Testament in particular; which errors the inexperienced find it somewhat difficult to avoid. I shall confine myself to one mode of interpretation which has prevailed from the earliest ages, and originated from ignorance of the original words themselves. For after the Christian religion had been spread abroad to the Greeks, most of the teachers of the church, who were occupied with the explanation of divine things, were, as is abundantly manifest, unacquainted with the Hebrew, and made use of the Greek alone in their interpretations. Hence, of necessity, they explained, by the aid of the Greek, a multitude of words and phrases, whose explication was to be sought for from the Hebrew language alone; and, in this manner, they wandered from the true sense. From this circumstance originated many interpretations of the sacred books, which were introduced into the church, and approved as true, which, although not repugnant to the Christian doctrine in the main, (which was however the fact with some,) were, nevertheless, false and inaccurate. This evil was still further aggravated by the Latins, some of whom were ignorant even of the Greek, and depended upon the literal Latin versions then in vogue. And if any of them resorted to the Greek for aid, still, not having a competent knowledge of the language, especially of that which the inspired writers employed, they consulted, for the most part, no-

thing but the Graeco-Latin glossaries, as is done by many at the present day, seizing upon the first Latin word, and, by the aid of this meaning, with which they were familiar, and of etymology also, interpreting the inspired writers, and disputing and philosophizing about matters of theology, without once considering that languages do not answer to one another in such a sense, that words, which are coupled together in the columns of a dictionary, preserve, under all circumstances, this equivalency of signification. Those, however, who were unable to avail themselves of the assistance of a Greek lexicon, adhered to the words of the Latin translation, which they interpreted with reference to the usage of their own day, and to the prevailing principles of philosophy, and engaged in philosophical disquisitions, drawn even from etymological considerations, and conceived they had in this manner nobly discharged the duties of a good interpreter. Hence originated baneful controversies, which might have been avoided if they had sought to interpret the sacred writings by the assistance of Greek and Hebrew rather than of Latin words. Many of these interpretations have been adopted and approved, and have prevailed even to the present day, to such an extent, that it becomes extremely difficult to avoid them; and even now, many persons, who are not deficient in Greek learning, hold and defend them. The reason is obvious. We are slow to detect any thing wrong in those things which we have learnt in childhood,—which we have ever been accustomed to recognize as true and right, and have maintained for years. This description of error, as it seems to me, is the most extensively prevalent, and with this the competent interpreter of the sacred books, must principally contend. Nor is the victory an easy one. I shall adduce here a few pertinent and evident examples, intending to cite a greater number hereafter, should Providence permit, in a future discussion, in which I design to

oppose the practice of those interpreters who philosophize rather than interpret, and who prefer to derive their expositions from the nature of things rather than from words, from logical, rather than from grammatical precepts; and I shall show that nothing can be more dangerous and fallacious than this method—that nothing involves the interpreter in greater darkness even in the most obvious and easy passages.

The occasion itself persuades me to take for my first example the word παρακλήτος,\* by which name, the Holy Spirit is styled by our divine Saviour in John xiv. 16. 26. xv. 26. xvi. 7. The Greeks, when they came to this word, adopted the meaning which was suggested by the verb παρακαλεῖν. As this verb occurs sometimes in the Septuagint, and in the New Testament writers, in the sense of *comforting*, in accordance, perhaps, with the popular usage of those times, they attached to the word παρακλήτος this same signification in some passages where the context plainly forbids it. They translated it accordingly, in this passage, *comforter*, as most of the Latins also have done; which sense, it must be acknowledged, accords very well with the office of the Holy Spirit, who, like the Father, is θεὸς πάσης παρακαλήσεως *the God of all consolation*: 2 Cor. i. 4. Others, who were aware that this word was used to denote the *advocate* in the forum, preferred to adopt such a sense as would intimate that the Holy Spirit was our *intercessor* and *advocate* before God, especially as Christ also is styled by John παρακλήτος in this sense, and the Saviour himself declares that he will send them another παρακλήτον *comforter*. This interpretation has met with extensive

\* See a laboured discussion of this subject, in Knapp *De Spiritu Sancto et Christo Paracletis, item de varia Potestate vocabulorum παρακαλεῖν, παρακλησις παρακλητος*; translated in Vol. 1. p. 237 of the Repository. See especially p. 245, where these views of Ernesti are criticised. (*Tr.*)



approbation, and is, at the present day, adopted by those who affect to know more than others, influenced by this consideration especially, that it is more agreeable to the usage of the Greek language in its Attic purity.\* Indeed, if the choice must be between these two modes of interpretation alone, I should, without hesitation, prefer the former, and with the late Godfrey Olearius,† follow the example of Luther, who decides in favor of the sense of *advocacy*, especially as this sense comports better with the drift and aim of the consolatory discourse of Christ to his disciples, disheartened by the annunciation of his intended departure and future personal absence. Be this as it may, these interpretations have become so prevalent, that scarcely an individual can be found who does not adopt either the one or the other. I have no doubt, however, that if they had not originally resorted to these significations in their endeavours to interpret the passage, but had thought of eliciting the meaning from the usage of the Hebrew language, at the time of Christ, and from the context; or, if scholars of the present day had not approached the passage, with their minds preoccupied, even from childhood, with one or other of these opinions, they would have discovered an interpretation different from either. For my part, I regard it as indubitable, that the word *παρακλήσις*, when spoken of the Holy Spirit, denotes *a teacher, a master, an expounder* of divine truth to the Apostles. I have no doubt, that Christ himself employed this very word, in the Hebrew form, and that it was thence transferred into the Greek by John, who had heard it from the mouth of Christ. For it is abundantly manifest, that this word, together with many other Greek words, was in common use among the Hebrews in

\* See Gataker Adversar. Postum. c. 35. Suicer Thesaur. Ecclesiast. and others.

† Dissert. de Adorat. Patr. per Chr. p. 56.



those days, in the form פֶּרְקָלִיט or פֶּרְקָלִיטָא. Nor can we suppose that it was regarded by the disciples as an unusual or unintelligible term, for they request no explanation, as we find they did in regard to other expressions, on this very occasion.

This word answers to the Hebrew מְלִיץ, in translating which, the Chaldee paraphrast uses it in Job xvi. 20. xxxiii. 23. מְלִיץ is moreover rendered in the Septuagint by ἐρμηνευτής *an interpreter* of the language or opinion of another,\* and by πρεσβευτής *an ambassador, an orator*, whose business it was to be the bearer of the will of another or the expressions of his kind regard.† Although I am well aware, that the word מְלִיץ was also spoken of an *intercessor* and *advocate*. But the word has reference generally to the faculty of speaking and teaching, and this is its primary signification, whence the abstract term, as the logicians call it, מְלִיצָה, is spoken of a *perspicuous discourse*, and even of *eloquence*, as is also the abstract פֶּרְקָלִיטָא of that Hebraeo-Greek word פֶּרְקָלִיט. Whenever the term is used by John, such expositions of it, and such attributes and actions of this παρακλήσις are added, as make it manifest, that it relates wholly to the notion of *teaching*. For, in some passages is added, by way of exposition, πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας *The Spirit of truth, or the author and teacher of all truth, the very truth itself*, the peculiarly competent teacher whose instructions we ought to receive with entire confidence, and in which alone we can confide without the least hazard. In all the other passages, no other attributes are ascribed to him, excepting those which pertain to a perfect *teacher*; not a word is said of *consolation*, or *intercession*, or *advocacy*. So that it is a matter of astonishment, how those interpretations could have prevailed, and obtain so firm a hold among the learned, unless it can

\* Gen. xi. 11. 23.

† 2 Chron. xxxii. 31.

be accounted for from what I have before said. This surprise is increased, when we find that Tertullian, who was undoubtedly the most ancient and learned teacher of the Latin church, understands it in this sense of *teaching*.\* “*I, what then*” says he “*is the administration of the παραλήτης manifest, but in guiding us in learning, in unfolding the Scriptures, in reforming the understanding, in advancing us toward perfection, &c*” I am aware, however, that this same Tertullian has, in other places, rendered it by the word *advocatus*, but there is reason to believe that he intends, in those instances, to denote that class of advocates, that *gives counsel, advises, suggests, is seated next to one, or is at hand*, of which description, are all the *advocati* in Cicero, as also those in Terence, not pleaders of causes, solicitors or intercessors; unless perhaps he is chargeable with a want of consistency in the use of the term, as is the case with some of the other teachers of the primitive church, as Augustine, for example, in the case of this very word. But enough of this example. Let us take another.

Among the Greek expressions used in a Hebrew sense, the words ἐκλέξασθαι and ἐκλογή occupy an important place. The Latin translators having rendered them by the terms *eligere* and *electio*, which corresponded with them in the school-lexicons, the theologians of the Latin Church (with Augustine at their head, a man of eloquence and talents, but very deficient in the knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek language, although he earnestly recommends the study of both, to the interpreters of the sacred writings,)<sup>†</sup> began in the first place to ascertain the import of these terms from the usage of the Latin language, then they proceeded to philosophize strangely about this Latin *electio*, to dispute warmly, and finally, to the great detriment of

\* De Veland. Virginibus, chap. 1.

† Doctrina Christ. ii. J. 11.

the Church, to excite controversies which it has not been possible to settle even to the present day. For myself, I am clearly of opinion, that these disputes about *election* and *predestination* would never have existed in the Greek Church, nor would it have been necessary, in the elementary works of theology, to devote a special chapter to the subject of *Election* and *Predestination*; but all would have simply believed, what our church\* maintains and defends, as being consistent with reason and the sum of Christian doctrine, that to such as it was foreseen by God from eternity, would remain faithful to the end, he determined, even then, to give eternal life;—this naked truth, I say, they would, as I suppose, have universally believed, if the Latin theologians had not involved themselves in those philosophical disquisitions about the Latin term *electio*, and had been aware that the word ἐκλεκτίζασθαι, which generally answers to the Hebrew בָּחַר, is used, in the Hebraeo-Greek dialect, for *to love, to approve*, as the Latin *diligere*; and the word ἐκλεκτός for *beloved, dear, approved*, even without the notion of election, as the Latin *eximius, egregius, dilectus*. I do not deny that this word occurs in the Scriptures, in the sense of *election*, properly so called, but I think I can show that in those passages from which the theological schools derive or rather extort their doctrine of *predestination*, this sense, if we proceed with any regard to the legitimate precepts of interpretation, cannot be admitted. Other examples of this sort might be adduced, but our limits forbid us to enlarge. Even from these examples, however, it may be understood, how great is the difficulty arising from this source, of interpreting, at the present day, the sacred books.

There remains still one species of difficulty, concerning which I had designed to speak, which respects the use of the observations and precepts of the grammarians. For,

\* The Lutheran.—(Tr).

as in every art, it is easier to learn rules than to reduce them to practice : so in interpretation also, it is not so very difficult a matter to discover, in general, what course we ought to pursue ; but when we come to the business of practice and application, to have each precept ready in its proper place, and to examine the expressions and direct the interpretation with a strict regard to it, this indeed demands, if not uncommon talents, at least a great share of diligence and unremitting exercise. In attaining to this ability, there is one circumstance peculiarly adverse—that mankind in general, and the young in particular, are exceedingly prone to form their judgment of the meaning of expressions from their knowledge of things, rather than from their knowledge of words, and to examine these expressions by the analogy of the art or science (which is indeed by no means to be neglected) rather than recall them to the precepts of the grammatical art. But I find I have already exceeded the limits of this discussion, and this part of the subject must be reserved, as I have stated before, for another discourse.





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IN

DEFENCE OF GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION,

PARTICULARLY

Of the Sacred Writings.

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IN DEFENCE  
OF  
GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION,  
*&c. &c.*

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IN enumerating the difficulties attending the correct interpretation of the New Testament (which formed the subject of our discourse the preceding year), I mentioned barely, at the close, that difficulty which consists in the knowledge and application of grammatical precepts and instructions,—a difficulty of the first magnitude undoubtedly, and well nigh embracing all the rest. I promised, accordingly, to give it a separate discussion, and, at the same time, to combat that method of interpretation, which philosophizes rather than interprets, and prefers to be metaphysical rather than grammatical, or, as it is uncouthly expressed, *real* rather than *verbal*, glorying also in this character, and spurning, as meagre, little, and inefficient, the grammatical method, which adheres to the words, and directs us to comprehend things through the medium of words, and not words through the medium of things. And I feel myself urged to fulfil this promise as soon as possible, and to liberate, if I can, the minds of the studious from the influence of these erroneous notions, because I am persuaded, that nothing operates more successfully to seduce men from the study of the languages, to which we are already rendered sufficiently averse by our natural sluggishness and dread of difficulties. The discussion will be so arranged as to show, in the first place, that the mode of

interpretation which proceeds entirely upon grammatical principles, is the only legitimate one, and that the other method, the philosophical or the doctrinal, is frequently detrimental, dangerous, fallacious, and unsatisfactory ; and finally, we shall set forth the difficulty of the grammatical method, as it regards both its acquisition and its application.

Should any intelligent person, however, wonder what has induced me to undertake this discussion, permit me to say, that the number has always been, and still is, considerable, of those who persuade themselves that the successful interpretation of such books as are designed to teach the more important branches of knowledge, or have any connexion with them, depends more upon a knowledge of things than of words. There have been persons, who denied that Cicero could be understood by grammarians and commentators, because, not a few things occur in his writings which pertain to the Roman law ; and claim, therefore, upon this pretext, for lawyers alone, the ability to understand them. I once heard a certain master of a celebrated school, relate that he was once, in a company of Aulick counsellors, chagrined at the incivility of one of their number, who asserted that no school-master—in short, that no one of those who professed to be teachers of polite literature—was competent to understand Cicero, on account of those things interspersed throughout his writings which pertain to the civil law. Upon his replying that the reasoning did not appear to warrant such a conclusion, and requesting that some passages of this description might be proposed, he cited, in the first place, those phrases which occur in the first book of his treatise *de Officiis*, “*usus fundi biennium esto*,” “*cum hoste aeterna auctoritas*,” and afterwards a second, and a third, of a similar character. All these being promptly explained, he was reduced to the necessity of saying, “You are the only one, however, of

this class who understands this author." Oh ! if the school-master, in his turn, had ventured to inquire of the counselor, what the *jus auctoritatis* of Cicero meant, what the *jus applicationis*, and what the *partitio*, I apprehend it would have been his good fortune, as it has been mine more than once, to render this man of the law as mute as a fish. Many such instances I have heard related, and have myself personally known, which it is unnecessary to relate ; and yet we find the greater number of those who approach the interpretation of the sacred writings, and of the books of civil law, regarding the employment in such a light, as to imagine themselves adequately furnished for this business if they are masters of a certain amount of learning, whether sacred or civil, derived from the popular compends of the day ; and such too are accounted by the multitude almost the only competent and learned interpreters. We shall demonstrate very clearly, that this notion is at the farthest remove from the sentiments and practice of the wisest men of every age, as well as at variance with the nature of the thing itself and with truth.

For the wise and prudent have always been of opinion, that correct apprehensions in general, and especially the knowledge of things and sciences, depend upon the understanding of words, and not the knowledge of words upon things and sciences. Socrates declares, according to Xenophon, that he was first enabled to commence his inquiries and acquisitions in knowledge from the time he was first able to comprehend the force of words ἐξ ὧν ζυμίναι τὰ λεγόμενα ἡζήσας. And with this sentiment the philosophers of our own day manifestly accord, when they maintain, that mankind would be incapable of the exercise of reason, without the use of words and the understanding of their import. In the *Gorgias* of Plato, this same Socrates declares, that he who understands the words, understands the things ὅστις ἂν εἰδῇ τὰ ῥήματα εἴσεται καὶ τὰ πράγματα. And all the philosophers who

proceeded from the school of Socrates, that is, the most distinguished philosophers that have ever existed, maintained the same opinion. Plutarch also expressly asserts that those who have not learned to understand the import of words, cannot rightly discourse about things τὰς μὴ μανθάνοντες ὁρᾷς ἀξίειν ὀνομάτων κακῶς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι. But if this is universally true, with how much more reason may we conclude in regard to interpretation, that it depends entirely upon the knowledge of words. For what is the business of interpretation, but to make known the signification and sense of words? and in what does the signification and sense of words consist, but in the notions attached to each word? This connexion between the words and ideas, in itself arbitrary, has been fixed by usage and custom. And what art but that of the grammarian, is employed in discovering and teaching this usage and custom of speech, especially of the dead languages? To the grammarian this business has been conceded by every age. For the knowledge of this usage depends entirely upon observation, and not upon the nature of things ascertained by necessary inference in any science. Theologians are right, therefore, when they affirm the literal sense, or that which is derived from a knowledge of words, to be the only true one; for that mystical sense, which, indeed, is incorrectly called *a sense*, belongs altogether to the thing and not to the words. The former, accordingly, which is the only true sense, they denominate the *grammatical*; and some also, as Sixtus of Sienna, because it is ascertained by an observation of facts, style it the *historical* sense.

It should also be remarked, that the grammatical mode of interpretation is the only clear and satisfactory one; at least it is far more so than that which is conducted upon doctrinal and metaphysical principles. It will be acknow-



ledged by all who would avoid the imputation of dulness in logical matters, that whatever, in any department of science, is certain and absolutely free from doubt, possesses this character of certainty from some necessity belonging to the thing itself; not, indeed, a necessity invariably the same in all cases, but such as the nature of the thing admits. So that the certainty of interpretation is derived from some necessity of signification. That there exists such a necessity of signification in words, will easily be seen. For the connexion between ideas and words, of which we have already spoken, although at first arbitrary and unconstrained, nevertheless, when once fixed by use and custom, is become necessary, and preserves its necessity so long as this use and custom continue. For that alone is not to be regarded as necessary which proceeds from a necessary cause, but a certain necessity may also result from things assumed and fixed at will. It is left to our option, for example, whether to describe two parallelograms upon the same base, and of the same altitude, or not. But, as soon as we give the same base and altitude to both, the necessity of equality immediately follows, which is again removed when this condition is taken away. Nor do the frequent changes, to which the usage of speech is liable, and which, in all languages, so long as they continue to be spoken, are owing to various causes, destroy this necessity. For as, in speaking of the usage of speech, we wish to be understood as inquiring in what sense each word was employed, in each particular age, by every description of men, and in a certain connexion; so also we understand the necessity of signification in words, to be determined by the same circumstances of place and time. If these be changed, a new necessity is induced. Wherefore, since the art of the grammarian alone ascertains and teaches this usage of speech, it follows, that from the knowledge of that art alone, a sure method of interpretation is to be sought, both in human

writings, and the inspired volume, so far as this is to be understood by human effort. But this point has already been decided by the most distinguished theologians and interpreters of the sacred books; and by their decision we ought certainly to abide, since it has been the result of reasonings so clear and necessary. It was said by Melancthon, that the Scriptures could not be understood *theologically*, without first of all being understood *grammatically*; and in support of this assertion he argues in very many places. Camerarius also, an eminently great man, urges more than once, the same sentiment. But, omitting all other authorities, no one more earnestly or frequently commends the study of the original languages, which is altogether grammatical, and declares that in it consists all true interpretation of the sacred books, than the illustrious Luther; particularly in that golden epistle which he wrote concerning the establishment of schools throughout the German States; in which, among other things against the Waldenses, who despised the knowledge of languages in sacred things, and attributed every thing to divine influence, he writes as follows. “*Spirit here or spirit there, what signifies it? I also have been in the spirit, and have also seen spiritual things, (if a man may be permitted to boast of himself,) more, perhaps, than these same persons will see for a year to come, however they may glory. My spirit also has accomplished somewhat \* \* \* \* \** But this I know, full well, that how much soever we are dependant upon spiritual influences, I had been left entirely unmolested by my vigilant adversaries, if the languages had not come to my assistance, and afforded me confidence in the Scriptures. I might also have been *very pious, and have preached well in retirement and quietness, but I must then have left the Pope and the Sophists, and the whole regiment of their followers, just where they were. The devil gives himself much less con-*

*cern about my spirit, than about my tongue and pen. For my spiritual exercises take from him nothing but myself alone. whereas the knowledge of the Scriptures, and of the sacred languages, make the world too narrow for him, and strikes at his very kingdom.”\** Let such then as aim really to be, as well as to be accounted, emulators of his example, respect the authority of this experienced man, without heeding those upstart advocates of ignorance, who recommend them to pursue that way to proficiency in interpretation, which conducts to the meaning and sense of words through the knowledge of things. For, in this method of interpretation, it is impossible that either the necessity of which we have already spoken, or the certainty which should principally be aimed at in interpreting, can exist. The reason is obvious. For who does not see,

\* This passage is given by Ernesti in the original German of Luther, which is characterized by an idiom very different from that of the present day, to which the translator has been most accustomed. He begs leave, therefore, to subjoin the original extract, in order that those readers of this work who are familiar with the language of the Reformer, may elicit, for themselves, the exact sense, in case the one here given be deemed inadequate. (*Tr.*)

“Geist hin, Geist her. Ich bin auch im Geist gewesen, und habe auch Geist gesehen, (wenns je gelten soll von eigenem Fleisch ruemen) vielleicht mehr, denn eben dieselbigen noch im Jahr sehen werden, wie fast sie auch sich ruemen. Auch hat mein Geist sich etwas beweiset \* \* \* \* \* Das weiss ich aber wohl, wie fast der Geist auch alles alleine thut, waere ich doch allen Pueschen zu ferne gewest, wo mir nicht die Sprachen geholfen, und mich der Schrift sicher und gewiss gemacht haetten. Ich haette auch wohl kunt fromm sein, und in der Stille fein predigen, aber den Babst und die Sophisten mit dem ganzen Endechristischen Regiment, wuerde ich wohl haben lassen sein, was sie sind. Der Teuffel achtet meinen Geist nicht so fast, als meine Sprache und Feder in der Schrift. Denn mein Geist nimt ihm nichts, deun mich allein, aber die heil. Schrift und Sprachen machen ihm die Welt zu enge, und thun ihm Schaden in seinem Reich.”

that a sense may be true in itself, which is not, however, conveyed by the words under consideration ?

In interpreting, moreover, we do not, strictly speaking, inquire *what is true* ; for, the ascertaining, comprehending, and understanding what is true, is quite another business, and to be compassed by entirely different means ; otherwise a Porphyry and a Celsus, and other adversaries of the Christian religion, having read and understood the inspired writings, would straightway have perceived the truth of Christianity. In interpreting, the simple inquiry is, *what has been said*, without regard to its relative nature or to the degree of truth with which it has been said. In human writings, as all are aware, many things are said which are not true ; nevertheless, these very untruths are susceptible of a correct interpretation. But in the inspired volume, being already persuaded of the truth of all that it reveals, it only remains for us to ascertain what it really declares. That Christ, for example, is an expiatory sacrifice for our sins, is most true ; but it does not follow from this, that he is called an expiatory sacrifice, in the passage of Paul, Rom. iii. 25. ὃν προσέθετο ἱλαστήριον. Unless this can be established upon grammatical principles ; that is, unless it can be shown, from the usage, not of the Greek language generally, but of the Hebraising dialect in particular, that the word ἱλαστήριον denoted *an expiatory sacrifice* ; and also, that the verb προσέθεσθαι was spoken of *victims* ; however true the doctrine may be in itself, nothing is effected toward the interpretation of this passage. But as the former position cannot be established, and it has been proved, by the most erudite scholars, particularly by Deilingius, in his volume of *Observations*, that כַּפֹּרֶת (*mercy seat*) alone was thus designated by that class of writers ; and, as it indicates sheer ignorance of the Greek, to favour, for a moment, the latter position, inasmuch as the verb προσέθεσθαι was never spoken but of a thing set forth as a spectacle, or

as a goal, or as an object of desire or aversion, (not to mention other reasons,) the interpretation above alluded to of the passage, is deservedly rejected as false, and is scarcely pardonable even in a school-boy. Hence it is obvious, that the true sense, is not, as a matter of course, to be understood and defined from the truth of the thing; especially as the number of those things which are consonant to truth, is endless: and if it be permitted to ascertain the truth of the sense by conclusions drawn from the truth of the thing, then every word might assume every variety of signification, which would be worse than skepticism.

What I have now advanced, does not militate, in the least with that precept of theologians, which enjoins, that every interpretation harmonize with the sum of christian doctrine, which is commonly called *the analogy of the faith*. For this precept was framed, almost entirely for the purpose of testing and rejecting a false sense, and not of discovering the true one. Nor does it follow, that because an interpretation, which is at variance with the analogy of the faith, is false, therefore any one, which is consonant to it, is true. For, there may be very many of this character; but that one alone, of all these, which is most in accordance with grammatical principles, is the truest, or, at least, the most probable. Let those, therefore, who are compelled, by their ignorance of the original languages, to trust too much to this analogy of the faith, be on their guard, lest they bring forward expositions entirely at variance with the words and intention of the inspired writers; which the benevolent scholar perceives, with regret, to have been frequently the case in all ages, and to be too often the case at the present day also. This same analogy of doctrine, however, when inspected narrowly, will be found to be altogether grammatical. For, strictly speaking, it is only a comparison of the sense which occurs in the more difficult passages, not with the dogmas of the learned, which are set forth in



the compends of theological science; for, in that case, the analogy would vary with the opinions of the different sects; whereas, from its nature, it ought to be but one; but with the more perspicuous passages, whose interpretation is also itself grammatical. Such a comparison has been instituted by grammarians in every class of writings, in history, for example, and in poetry; but they have never been heard to insist upon an analogy of history or of poetry.

Perceiving, however, that those whose method differs from ours, dwell particularly upon the following circumstance, and pervert it in defending their views, viz. that the mode of interpretation varies with the diversity of the subjects; and perceiving that they cannot persuade themselves that the grammarian is competent to interpret books of every class, of theology, for instance, of law, of medicine, of philosophy, I feel it incumbent on me to expose the folly of this doubt. First of all, then, it is not true, that the mode of interpretation is so affected by the nature of the subject, that the former must vary with the latter. For as, in every species of discourse, whatever be the subject, the grammatical sense, as was stated before, is the only true one, it follows also, that there can be no other legitimate interpretation but the grammatical; because the character of the sense necessarily defines the nature and kind of interpretation, and there cannot possibly be more kinds of interpretation than of senses. And if a difference in the nature of the subject demanded a different mode of interpretation, it would follow, as a necessary consequence, that there would be as many kinds of interpretation as there are different subjects; which I find to be the opinion of some, of V. G. Forster, for instance, in his work on *the Interpretation of Law*,\* who makes as many methods of interpretation as there are distinct sciences and arts: the historical

\* Thes. Otton. V. II. p. 954.



interpretation, for example, the physical, the arithmetical, the geometrical, the medical, &c. which is incomparably silly.

Some years since, when the hope was entertained that an edition of Pliny, the natural historian, would be prepared by Gesner, a scholar of distinguished reputation, I recollect to have been present at a conversation of some very learned physicians, who expressed their wishes, that an edition of this historian might be prepared rather by a physician, because, forsooth, no one but a physician seemed to them competent to the undertaking. When I discovered, upon inquiry, the reason of this opinion to be, that many things were met with in that work, which pertain to medicine, I began to defend Gesner, by saying, that I was surprised that a physician should seem to them the only competent interpreter of that work, whose author himself was not a physician. But if Pliny, who made no profession of medicine, had nevertheless been able to understand the Greek physicians, and to collect together, in his own work, such and so many things from their writings; if Celsus also, who it is manifest, was not a physician, had been able to explain, from the Greek medical writers, the whole science of medicine, so perspicuously and elegantly, that no professed physician could cope with him in this respect; why could not these writers themselves be understood and interpreted by one who was not professedly devoted to the science of medicine? I ventured also to express the opinion, that the reason why no creditable edition of Celsus had yet appeared—a fact lamented by the medical profession—was simply this, that, as yet, no grammarian had devoted himself to the business. Moreover, if it was a necessary consequence, that, because many things pertaining to medicine were taught in the work of Pliny, therefore physicians alone are able to interpret him; with the same justice, astronomers, geographers, huntsmen, shepherds, vine-

dressers, statuaries, painters, miners, and what not, would claim the exclusive right and ability to interpret and publish the books of Pliny, because so many things are found in them which pertain to their appropriate science, or art, or employment. When I had finished, and a moderate laughter was excited at their expense, they seemed to accede to my opinion. In fact, there is but one and the same method of interpretation common to all books, whatever be their subject. And the same grammatical principles and precepts, ought to be the common guide in the interpretation of all. Epictetus\* gives it as his opinion, that he who can interpret the obscure writings of the philosopher Chrysippus, must be a grammarian; and between this grammarian and another, the only difference is, that one interprets Chrysippus, and another, it may be, interprets Homer.

In presenting, however, this view of the subject, I do not maintain that one and the same interpreter possesses the ability to interpret books of every class. This might possibly have been the case with Scaliger, Salmasius, Casaubon, Grotius, and a few others, of equal talents; who, by an incredible force of genius and amount of reading, seem to have attained to a familiarity with the usage of speech of every age, science, art, or individual; it cannot however, be believed, that all, or even many, can arrive at this proficiency. As all who profess theology, or law, or medicine, do not cultivate, with eminent success, every department of their science; but some are profound in one department, while they are but superficially acquainted with another; and some attain to eminence in one department, while others are distinguished in another; so it is also with grammarians. Not every one, or perhaps I may say, no one, can, by any force of genius or assiduity of application, acquire a familiarity with every usage of speech

\* Ch. lxxiii.

of every ancient language, as it obtained in different ages, in different departments of learning, in different sects, and, I had almost said, in different individuals. But, whoever is fully master of any one part of any language, and has acquired, by daily exercise, the ability to explore this portion, he is a grammarian worthy of the name; and if he wishes to transfer his study to any other portion, he can acquire the same ability in exploring this also.

Some one, perhaps, will here ask, If grammatical interpretation alone be recognized as true and legitimate, what becomes of Melancthon, whose words you cited above, in which he associates the *theological* interpretation of the sacred books, with the grammatical? What becomes of so many other eminently learned theologians, who declare it to be the business of the *theologian*, to interpret those books? What of the lawyers, and the philosophers, who are accounted our interpreters of the books of civil law and of philosophy? The answer is easy. The accomplished theologian sustains, as it were, a twofold character; the one, in common with grammarians; the other, his own and peculiar. His duty, in the capacity of a grammarian, will be, first of all, to vindicate the soundness of the readings, against the corruptions introduced by transcribers, heretics, and critics; and, to this end, to have at hand a suitable store of the materials of criticism, derived from manuscript and printed copies, and also the means of deciding on the merits of the various readings; and then, to make known the sense of the words from the usage of the Greek and Hebrew. In his other character, he will be called upon, from the words rightly understood, to derive his definitions and divisions, together with the particulars of faith and duty; to set forth legitimate conclusions; so to digest and arrange these as to form a system of doctrines; and also, to teach and defend these, whether by disputation or by preaching, and by every possible me-

thod to convert them to the advantage of mankind. In the discharge of his duties in the former character, he will interpret grammatically ; in the latter, theologically. The former interpretation accordingly will be grammatical ; the latter, theological. If both be found in one man, as was the case with Origen and Jerome, and in many more since the reformation, we have an absolutely perfect theologian. The same is true of the lawyer and the philosopher. But it must be obvious to every one, that this latter method can with little propriety be denominated interpretation ; at least, that it is quite another thing from that, which we intend, when we speak of the interpretation of books ; and that those who embrace and practise this latter method, to the neglect of the former, and, as we have before shown, the more difficult one, are to be regarded as interpreters and teachers of theological compends and catechisms, rather than of the inspired volume. That this latter method has received the name of *interpretation*, is owing to the ambiguity of the latin term *interpretatio*, which was originally spoken, not only of him who explained the sense of words, but of him also who expounded any thing to others, in whatever manner.

What then ? Is the interpreter to derive no assistance whatever from the knowledge of the subject itself ? Certainly, indeed, there are times, when the grammarian also must resort to things, for the purpose of compassing the true force of the words. When and why this is necessary, it seems proper briefly to explain ; that it may be clear, what use can be made of the knowledge of things in interpreting ; and that this use may be circumscribed within just limits. I have shown above, that, from the very nature of interpretation, properly so called, and accurately examined, all legitimate interpretation must be derived from such an observation and knowledge of the usage of speech, as I have already defined. Now it cannot be satis-

factorily collected, except from adequate testimony, what particular signification the usage of speech, of every age, has fixed upon each word, in every connexion, and also upon each form of expression; because, it belongs to that class of things which are matters of fact and observation.

What the different kinds of testimony are, and how they are obtained, examined, and judged of, (which is a point of capital importance,) is unfolded by us carefully when we deliver the rules of interpretation. It is unnecessary to dwell upon these topics here. But it sometimes happens, that adequate testimony of the fact either does not exist, or has not yet been discovered and prepared. Sometimes also, the writers themselves, compelled by necessity, or from some other cause, have introduced an unusual mode of expression. Sometimes the nature of the things treated of is such, as to forbid their being adequately described by any words. And finally, some words are liable to a certain ambiguity from the circumstances of their collocation. By all which it is effected, that the usage either cannot be ascertained at all, or else, when ascertained, is not sufficient for the discovery of the sense of the words. When reduced to this extremity, we must resort to certain means, which take the place, as it were, of the usage of speech, by the aid of which we may come at the true sense,—means, however, which have been already employed by grammarians in every class of writings. And this necessity presents itself, I think, no where more frequently than in the interpretation of the sacred writings, and gives rise to considerable difficulty. For those writings, not only the Hebrew but the Greek also, stand almost alone in respect of the form of the language and the character of the style. For, notwithstanding the same general character belongs to the Alexandrine version and to the New Testament; and the former, in consequence, assists as much in ascertaining the usage of speech of the latter, if



rightly compared, as before hinted, with the Hebrew text, and also with the remains of Symmachus, with Josephus, and with Philo : still it will be found that many expressions are used in an unusual sense, and many are newly coined on account of the novelty and sublimity of the subject, transcending the powers of the human understanding. So that, it necessarily happens, either that the testimony is wanting, by which the usage may be established, or that this usage, when known, may not suffice for the discovery of the sense of the words. Among the means, therefore, sometimes resorted to, in place of the usage of speech, is to be numbered, the knowledge of the subject under discussion. It must be employed, however, with great moderation and prudence, otherwise unspeakable injury is done ;—of which it is my design to speak in another part of the proposed discussion. In the first place, much caution is necessary, that it be chiefly employed in things pertaining to ordinary life, and well understood ; but in divine things, on the contrary, beyond the reach of human comprehension, that we do not seek to elicit the interpretation from the nature of things, however known to us, contrary to the force and proper signification of the words. How very easy it is to err in this respect, we know from experience, in so great a proneness and desire in mankind, to reduce divine things within the contracted limits of human knowledge. In the next place, care must be taken, not to resort to it unnecessarily ; for this method is inferior to the grammatical, in virtue and efficacy, whether in persuading or refuting, especially in contested points ; and it is inexcusable to employ a weaker method when a stronger one is at hand. That many errors have been committed in this respect, I could prove by a multitude of examples. Those who are even slightly acquainted with the controversies, which have been agitated, from time immemorial, amongst theologians, both orthodox and heretical, must be aware, on the one hand, how great an abuse of



this method has prevailed, in the most serious and important matters; and on the other how little it has availed against the adversaries, even when skilfully and properly employed. So that our theologians have done well, when giving rules for regulating the interpretation of the sacred books, to insist especially upon a faithful and diligent search for and acquaintance with the usage of speech, or as it is commonly denominated, *the propriety of words*, without departing from it, in any case, unless from the most urgent necessity.

But, while it is acknowledged, that the grammarian is only now and then to seek for the sense of the words from a knowledge of things, he is not, however, on this account, to be denied the ability to expound these latter also. For, if the things be of that class which is obvious to the senses, or intelligible to all, grammarians certainly will not be ignorant of what all are familiar with. And if the knowledge of the things is to be sought from some abstruse and recondite science, what forbids that they also should draw from this source? For if this knowledge should be derived from the fountain-head, which is most desirable, they will be the more competent to this undertaking, the greater their diligence in understanding languages. And if, again, this knowledge is to be obtained from the commentaries and writings of the learned, they certainly will not fail to understand these, which the tyro, in every department of science, is supposed to comprehend. But here, as I see, is the great, and, I had almost said, ridiculous mistake of many, and in particular of those who style themselves philosophers, that they imagine, that the man who has not listened to interpreters, however barbarous and incompetent, of the compends of any department of learning, and who has not consumed a goodly portion of his life, within the contracted atmosphere of such compends, in teaching or reading them, is neither skilled in his science nor has any right

perceptions of things pertaining to it. And, indeed, I know not but the observation of Mark Antony, which he made, according to Cicero, concerning the orator, when disputing against Crassus, may be transferred to the grammarian. For when Crassus denied that a forensic orator could exist, without a thorough knowledge of the civil law, Anthony replied, that the orator, although unskilled in civil law, provided he should obtain from professed lawyers, what was requisite of this knowledge, in any cause, would deliver those things thus received, better than the lawyers themselves. Gesner, of whom mention was made above, having applied himself to the interpretation of the very difficult treatise of Hippocrates, succeeded to such a degree, as to be thought to have been the first to discover the right method of interpreting this author. This success was owing, undoubtedly, to the fact, that he came to the interpretation of that treatise, with a great store of Greek learning, and after the practice and exercise of many years in the business of interpretation.

Let all those, therefore, who wish to be successfully employed in the interpretation either of the divine writings or of others, be assured of this, that the only true, compendious and certain way to the acquisition of this ability, is that which grammarians have pointed out and prepared; and let them not suppose, that, because grammarians are busied about words, they are destitute, for this reason, of the knowledge of things; nor imagine that they are unable to interpret those books in which sciences are taught.

The next thing in order, according to our division of the subject, is, to engage in the other proposed discussion, and show how dangerous and slippery, how vain and fallacious a method those adopt, who wish to prove themselves logicians, philosophers and metaphysicians, in interpreting, rather than grammarians. But as the former part has already exceeded the limits we had proposed, it must, together with the third, be deferred to another time.



ON

THE FOLLY OF THOSE WHO PHILOSOPHIZE

IN INTERPRETING

**The Scriptures.**





ON THE  
FOLLY OF THOSE WHO PHILOSOPHIZE  
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HAVING undertaken to prove, contrary to the notion entertained by those, whose province it is to judge concerning the pursuits of letters and the merits of the learned, and by those, who are themselves devoted to the cultivation of such studies,—how numerous and how great are the difficulties, to be encountered by all, who would engage, with success, in interpreting the books of the New Testament; we arrived at that point in the discussion, at which it devolved on us to show, how large a portion of the difficulty proceeds from the want of a just knowledge and legitimate application of the precepts and observations of grammarians;—not only of the difficulty, which these books present in common with the rest of ancient writings, but of that also which is peculiar to this class. And here, when we reflected, how many were disposed to think meanly of grammatical interpretation, because it is busied about words and syllables, and even letters; about nice rules and minute observations; and to imagine, that the knowledge of things promises a more efficient aid in the business of interpretation; we began to fear lest this widely disseminated opinion might withdraw the attention of readers from the subject of this discussion; and, if its effects extended no further, might still induce men to conclude, that, if the grammatical method of interpretation

presents such difficulties, it deserves the rather, on this very account, to be neglected and abandoned. Accordingly, we thought it expedient, to fortify our way beforehand, and to prove, that the grammatical method alone deserves the name of interpretation; that it is the only legitimate, satisfactory, and sure method: and that neither correct interpretations can be ably defended against the adversaries, nor false interpretations, especially if they be not, in themselves, repugnant to *the analogy of the faith*, be unanswerably refuted, except upon grammatical principles. We have reason to think and hope, that the discussion obtained the approbation of the learned and intelligent,—of those, at least, whose minds were not preoccupied with the ill founded notion above alluded to, or otherwise shackled. It now remains, to pursue the plan marked out in the preceding discourse, and expose, in the first place, the folly of that method of interpretation, which is derived from the knowledge of things rather than of words; which aims to be philosophical and metaphysical, rather than grammatical: and then, to point out the difficulties of the grammatical method, as it regards both the knowledge of it and its application. This latter discussion, however, as it ranges over too wide a field, to admit of its being embraced within the limits prescribed on the present occasion, I have reserved for a special academical exercise: the former part of the subject alone will occupy our attention at present.

I am well aware, how difficult it is, to wrest from men the opinion and the practice, against which this discussion is directed. For not only are other allurements presented,—the dignified name, for example, of philosophy, which this method assumes,—but we are constantly exposed to the seductive influence of two insinuating and powerful mistresses, or rather procuresses, pride and sloth. It is evident, that those, who come to the business of interpreta-



tion, ignorant of letters, or but superficially acquainted with them, and familiar with the compends merely of any science ; and who, nevertheless, wish to be, and to be accounted, interpreters either of divine or human writings, can, by no means, accede to our views ; for, in that case, they must, of necessity, cease to be enrolled in the number of genuine interpreters. Besides, it calls for neither distinguished talents, nor uncommon industry, to understand, remember, and teach, the elements and rudiments of some art or science, compressed within the narrow limits of a compend. For it is notorious, how many attain to this proficiency, and in how short a time, even in the midst of daily sports, and almost in the midst of other serious occupations. Those, on the other hand, who desire to draw for themselves from the fountain-head, or to render it accessible to others, through a knowledge of the languages and of the grammatical art, must embrace and thoroughly understand an almost endless variety of things and observations, many of which will be found to be subtle and minute, and, for that very reason, the more apt to escape us : a very large number of books must be carefully read and critically examined : an extraordinary diligence and attention also must be employed, descending even to the most trivial and minute matters :—all which things are directly hostile to that sloth and sensuality, to which the manners of the present age are so propense. Indeed, there is scarcely any employment of the literary kind, which presents fewer difficulties, than that mode of interpretation, which neglects the assistance of grammarians, and elicits the sense from things ; which labours in the explication of things, rather than of words ; and resorts to philosophy, rather than to the instructions of grammarians, for the true sense of the words. For, it not only demands a very moderate share of knowledge, but is even employed, with success, by a mind that is neither great nor cultivated.

And it requires also neither rigid accuracy, nor uncommon diligence, nor vigorous intellect. It is the opinion of Vitringa,\* one among a few excellent interpreters, that it is a very laborious matter, to ascertain the grammatical sense, on account of the difficulty of the thing itself, and the diversity of opinion among interpreters; but, when this grammatical sense has been once ascertained, the ability and the means are afforded to all, even to those who are ignorant of the languages, of disputing and deciding upon the other individual questions. What is here advanced by Vitringa in relation to the book of Isaiah alone, admits an application to all the other books of the sacred volume. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that most persons so eagerly embrace this easier method. For my own part, I am convinced, from the experience and observations of many years spent in the management of youth of various dispositions, that the young mind is peculiarly inclined to adopt it; especially, if it be of a more lively and impatient character, and not yet sufficiently trained to investigate the sense under the guidance of grammatical principles and rules. For frequently, when some difficulty has presented itself, arising from the words themselves, or from their collocation, upon directing them to give their minds to the search, and to communicate their views, or to give a reason of their decision, I have observed, that, neglecting the knowledge of grammatical rules, they have resorted to the thing itself, ascertained, some how or other, from the context, or from some other source, and were disposed to seek aid from this quarter in ascertaining or in confirming the interpretation; flattered, at the same time, by a certain show and notion of genius, the praise of which, we all, at that age, covet more eagerly than that of diligence. In fine, if any one will examine the record of

\* *Praef. ad Comment in Esa.* p. 6.

past ages, beginning from the infancy of Christianity, he will find, I am confident, that the practice of philosophizing in interpretation, originated from ignorance of the original languages ; for the successful study of which no facilities were afforded ; or, from the study of which, if the requisite facilities were afforded, they were deterred by a dread of the labour necessarily incurred in attaining to a thorough understanding of these languages : he will find, also, that those who possessed this requisite knowledge, were never desirous of employing that other method. The philosophical interpretation, therefore, and the allegorical, may be referred to the same cause. "*Formerly,*" says Jerome, in the preface to his Commentary upon Obadian, "*I interpreted the prophet Obadiah allegorically, through ignorance of history.*" In the same manner, ignorance of the Greek and Hebrew, has led most others also to the allegorizing, and all, to the philosophizing method. All these things clearly evince that the philosophical mode of interpretation cannot, in any view of it, be approved. But we must pass on to other things of more importance. Before we proceed, however, to the particular consideration of these, we must explain, more definitely, what we understand by this method.

We have not, then, undertaken this discussion against all those indiscriminately, who abuse philosophy in interpreting the inspired writings. We have nothing to do with those, who torture the passages which treat clearly and expressly of the most sacred mysteries of the Christian religion, until they seem to be brought down to a level with the capacity of human wisdom, and nothing mysterious be left ; or, by a violent mode of interpretation, refer the miracles to natural causes, or explain them after the manner of natural effects ; or, in some other such way, pervert the sacred Scriptures. These deserve imprisonment and bonds, rather than a serious refutation ;—

especially as they have already been frequently refuted and exposed, by the most learned theologians. It is not my design, to contend with the madness of the impious, but to correct the errors of the inexperienced and unskilful; for the former deserve our contempt, the latter our pity. We have, accordingly, to deal, in the first place, with those, who abuse philosophy in interpretation, but without impiety; and then, with those who abuse the truths themselves of religion, but, generally, without any serious harm.

Such, then, are the persons, whom we specially intend to oppose, as philosophizing in the interpretation of the sacred writings. They err, however, in various ways. In the first place, and principally, in determining the force of detached words; which is a very important branch of the business of interpretation. For, accustomed, as they are, to the notions prevalent in the schools of philosophy, with which they are particularly conversant, and these same notions forthwith suggesting themselves, whenever the original, or a version, or their dictionaries present a word, to which some signification or other has been attached by their teacher; it so happens, that they attach to the word under consideration, this same meaning, which is frequently entirely foreign from the intention of the inspired writer. This abuse has prevailed extensively, and has proved a stumbling block to interpreters in every age. It is well known, that very many expositors among the Greeks attached to the words of the evangelists and apostles, at one time, the Platonic notions, at another, the Aristotelian, and at another, the Stoical, which gave birth to expositions, at variance with the design of the sacred writers, and frequently in direct contradiction to revealed truth. As many writers, however, have already abundantly discussed this part of the subject, I shall forbear to enlarge. This abuse, it must be acknowledged, has not been confined to professed philosophers. Others also, who

have not proceeded from the schools, deceived sometimes by the resemblance of words, have been led to attach philosophical notions to passages which utterly forbid them. Of this description is the Scholion of Oecumenius, upon Heb. xi. 1., where faith is styled by Paul ὑπόστασιν ἐλπιζομένων *the substance of things hoped for*. The word ὑπόστασις having been in vogue among the ancient philosophers in the sense of *essence* or *substance* (ἰσσία), Paul employs it, in this same sense, in the first chapter. This commentator, however, adopts the same signification, in the passage above cited; and then indulges in smart speculations, which, to my astonishment, meet the approbation of Beza. Among the commentators of the Latin Church, owing to their ignorance of the Greek as well as of the Hebrew, the evil was still more aggravated; especially in the age of the schoolmen, who crammed every thing with the notions of their philosophy. Afterwards, upon the revival of the study of the ancient languages, when this barbarism was banished, and the thick darkness, which hung around the preceding ages, was dispelled, this evil was the first to be remedied. But when the ardour of these philological studies was again cooled by the predominance of sloth,—an ardour which, at the present day, is almost extinguished, because the inexperienced are induced to believe, that the knowledge of things is of more importance and advantage than the knowledge of words, although this knowledge they obtain is generally little else but words,—this evil again returned, and spread far and wide. So that, from what we now hear and read, we should be led to conclude, that the inspired writers speculated as if they came from the interior of the Wolfian, or some other such school of philosophy; inasmuch as some have arisen who endeavour, in entire treatises and essays, to obscure (I had wished to say, elucidate,) the words of



the apostles, from the instructions of their philosophical teachers.

Among the Greeks, indeed, this error was chiefly occasioned by their ignorance of the Hebrew, and of the method of ascertaining the sense of the words, by a comparison of the Alexandrine version with the Hebrew text; to which subject I have alluded already. Still, I am disposed to think, with Vitringa,\* the Commentator already cited, that they might have compassed this object, although ignorant of Hebrew, by a comparison of this Greek version with others,—with that of Aquila, for example, and Symmachus; the former of whom had furnished a strictly literal Greek translation of the Hebrew text; so much so, that he is cited, by some of the ancients, under the name of *Hebrew verity*; the latter had aimed to preserve the purity of the Greek idiom: as we find, in either case, from their exceedingly precious remains. Concerning this mode of comparison, however, we shall treat more at large in another place. If that scholiast, (to keep to our former example,) after consulting the Alexandrine version, had been aware, that the term *ἐπίστας* is used where, in the Hebrew, we find the word *תּוֹחֵלֶת*, and such words as, in other places, are rendered by the Greek terms *ἐπομονή*, *ἀπεκδοχή*, and the like, which denote *a patient and constant expectation of things hoped for*; and also, if he had consulted the Hexapla, in Ps. xxxix. 7., where the Alexandrine version translates the word, *תּוֹחֵלֶת* by *ἐπομονή*, and had found that Aquila has *καγαδοχία*, and Symmachus, *ἀναμονή*, he might easily have avoided those subtilties; especially, if he had considered, that the verb *ἐπίσταςθαι*, from which *ἐπίστας* is derived, is used, by the Greek writers, to denote, *to have a clear, confident persuasion*, in which sense, not yet noticed by the lexicons, it frequently occurs

\* Praef. ad Comment. in Esa. p. 5.



in Diodorus Siculus, as in I. 6. 11. 12, &c. The Latins, also, might have avoided, in the same manner, the like speculations; and so may the commentators of our own day, although the former could do it more easily, inasmuch as they possessed the Hexapla entire.

In fine, it behooved them all to consider, in the first place, that languages do not so correspond, as to have all the words in any one, in the Greek, for example, convertible into corresponding and precisely equivalent terms in the Latin; which subject has been treated at large by Le Clerc, in his *Ars Critica*,—a writer, however, who should be read with caution. In the next place, they should have considered, that a great difference obtains between the refined notions of philosophers, and the plainer notions of popular writers, which cannot be tested by the refinements of philosophy. It should also have been particularly attended to, that the inspired writers have employed some words, drawn, indeed, from the common usage, but in a peculiar signification; which signification is to be ascertained by a diligent comparison of various passages and examples. To this class belongs the word πίστις *faith*. Even the Greek Jews themselves have erred in their acceptation of this term, estimating its meaning from its use among the Greek writers. and thus converting the faith which is the instrument of salvation, into that virtue which is enjoined by the Mosical law, which is attainable even by the human powers. Philo, for example, lauds faith exceedingly, and places it above every other virtue; in the sense, however, just now specified.\* Let all, then, who aim to be successful interpreters of the inspired volume, carefully guard against this mistake, not consulting philosophers, for the purpose of determining the sense of words, but the usage of speech of

\* *Quis heres rerum div.* I. p. 485. 486. Ed. Lond. and *de Abrahamo* II. p. 39.

the original languages, and of each particular writer. In order to acquire the knowledge of this usage, in the right and legitimate way, they must attend upon the instructions of grammarians.

Another mode of philosophizing in interpretation, akin to the former, is *when the sense of the words is exacted according to the subtilty of logicians and metaphysicians*. Nothing can be said or imagined, more absurd. In other writings, both Greek and Latin, this mode of proceeding has been already rejected, under such circumstances, that, if any one, at the present day, should desire to examine and interpret the words of any historian, orator, or poet, Greek or Latin, with reference to this logical and metaphysical refinement, he would become the laughing stock of all intelligent scholars. All these classes of writers, and such as write, not for philosophers, but for all alike,—of which description are those, especially, who labour to instruct the human race, even the lowest grade of society, in the knowledge of divine things,—not only disregard this philosophical subtilty, in their ordinary language, but purposely avoid it in their words and sentences. If this be not the case; but if, either from ostentation of learning, or from want of experience, they employ the notions and forms of speech peculiar to the schools of philosophy; they err, most egregiously, through ignorance and unskilfulness, and are deservedly laughed at. Of this circumstance, those do not seem to be sufficiently aware, who, at the present day, in discourses addressed to the populace on divine subjects, make use of strange words, and forms, invented, I shall not say how felicitously, some day or two since, by philosophers; to be tolerated, perhaps in the schools, but wholly unintelligible to those who have not heard the same philosophers, or become acquainted with them by reading. If this be so, are not those proceeding upon a most objectionable plan, at variance with the design of the inspired

writers, and subversive of the common good, who, in interpreting those books, aim at a logical and metaphysical refinement. For the writers neither came forth from the schools of philosophy, accustomed to employ their words and forms and sentences, adapted to the subtilty which there obtains ; nor were they engaged in instructing philosophers, but the illiterate multitude, utterly incapable of this niceness and accuracy of thought. Still, this objectionable course has been pursued, in every age, and is adopted, at the present day, particularly by those who foolishly suffer themselves to be persuaded, that by means of a knowledge of things, derived from philosophy, and without any considerable amount of knowledge of languages, and assiduous exercise in interpretation under the guidance of grammatical principles, they may acquire the reputation of interpreters, and, in general, of good theologians : when the thing itself and experience clearly teaches, that the former proficiency, unless preceded by the latter, has never availed, and has proved, for the most part, a hinderance and a stumbling-block. Nor can this faulty mode of proceeding be avoided, except by those, who devote a very considerable portion of time to the study of the genius of the original languages, and to the reading of the originals themselves ; especially as it has, in the estimation of some vain minds, a certain delusive charm thrown around it, from the show of acumen and refinement, which some men of extraordinary stupidity, are pleased to denominate *solidity*. For, this mode is sometimes adopted, even by those, who are not chargeable with the ignorance and error alluded to above, from a desire to detect some peculiar emphasis, which, when discovered, they think will add somewhat of dignity to the inspired writers ; in which respect, all those are apt to expose themselves to ridicule, who interpret from things rather than from a thorough knowledge of the usage of speech. But let us adduce a few examples,

drawn, principally, from the more ancient commentators, whom we may reprehend with impunity ; although we are well aware, that more objectionable and even sillier things have been said and written by the moderns. In 1. Cor. vii. 31., Paul has this expression παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ *for the fashion of this world passeth away.* The phrase τὸ σχῆμα τῷ κόσμῳ might easily have been regarded as a periphrasis for ὁ κόσμος, (a mode of circumlocution common among the Greeks, but which has frequently deceived interpreters.) especially upon a comparison of the passage in 1 John ii. 17. ὁ κόσμος παράγεται *the world passeth away.* But Theophylact discovers a more exquisite and subtle meaning. The phrase σχῆμα τῷ κόσμῳ, according to him, is employed, because this world possesses nothing solid, but presents only the vain show of good and evil things, all of which fade and pass away, &c. Again, it has been made a question, how the words of Micah, concerning the town of Bethlehem, are to be reconciled with the Greek words in Matthew ii. 6. ; inasmuch as the latter styles it the least, the former, *not* the least ; so, at all events, the versions have it. I have not time to enumerate all the opinions. Dannhauer, however, a learned theologian, and bred amongst metaphysicians, as may easily be conjectured by any one who reads his writings, advances, in his *Idea Boni Int. et Malit Calumniatoris*, p. 93., a book replete with valuable observations and precepts, the following as the most satisfactory explanation, that this town was styled by the prophet *the least*, having regard to its mode of existence, which is manifest, says he, from the addition of the term *לְקָטָן*, which denotes *in the mode of its existence* ; but by the Scribes it was called *the greatest*, in regard to its dignity, because it was to be the birth-place of the Messiah. These are mere metaphysical subtilties, vain and unsatisfactory, as is correctly observed by Theod. Hackspan, when remarking upon this interpretation,—a



theologian of former days, remarkably versed in the true method of interpretation, adding wisely, \* *He loses his labour, and, indeed, runs much hazard of inventing many things false or ridiculous, or, at least, impertinent, who demands from grammarians, a metaphysical subtilty, which has never been conceded to them.* Into similar trifling, the Greek theologians have fallen, in interpreting the phrase ἄρτος ἐπίσσιος *daily bread*, which was so designated, as they supposed, because it pertained to the *ἔσσία* *essence* or *substance* of the mind or body, or supported it; as if, in the ordinary and popular manner of speaking, the term *ἔσσία* was ever employed in such a sense.\* Again, the distinction which Augustine makes between συναγωγὴ and ἐκκλησία, is, like many others, a curious one. He asks why the Apostles never use the term συναγωγὴ for the assemblies of Christians, but always ἐκκλησία, which, however, he might easily have found not to be the fact, if he had ever read the Greek text. He answers, “that the assembly of the Jews was called συναγωγὴ, that is, *congregation*, because cattle were wont to be congregated; and rightly, indeed, for the term *greges herds*, is properly applied to them; but the assembly of christians was called ἐκκλησία, that is, *convocation*, because this term is more properly applied to rational beings.”\* Here, I suppose, some will smile, who, themselves, from the version of Luther, as Augustine from the Latin, failing to consult or to understand the original, have frequently brought forward similar conceits.

The third method of philosophizing is, when they employ

\* Miscell. Sacr. p. 36. compare also p. 13.

\* See passages from the Fathers in Casaubon Adv. Baron. Exerc. xvi. 39.

† See for example Comment. in Psalm lxxxi. Vol. viii. Opp. p. 906. ed. Frob.



a meagre logical analysis of the ideas and propositions ; which they insist to be necessary for eliciting the true sense with certainty, boasting themselves also to be the masters of this method. Whereas, in the first place, it is rarely necessary ; and, in the next place, when not accompanied with a competent knowledge of the original languages, is empty and ridiculous. I shall say nothing of the commentaries of former ages, which afford many examples of such laboured analyses, and which, for this very reason, have already been sent forth from the hands of the learned. In our own day, philosophers have arisen, who recommend this same method. "*It is of vast importance,*" says one of them, "*to reason about sacred things, from genuine principles. I call genuine principles, such as are inherent in the scriptures themselves, not derived from without, as interpreters are wont to do. It is no wonder, then, that they should attach vague and indeterminate notions to the words of the Scriptures, each one attributing what sense he thinks best.*" Such are his views of this subject. "*We present, accordingly,*" he continues, "*examples of the proper mode of interpreting the Sacred Scriptures, that it may appear how much those persons stand in their own light, who are desirous of labouring successfully in interpreting the same, and yet contemptuously despise the aid which they might receive from philosophy.*" What will the man produce worthy of such magnificent boasting ? He undertakes, for example, to investigate what sense is to be attached to the words of Paul, when, in the commencement of the Epistle to the Romans, he styles himself *a servant of Christ*. And now, listen, I pray, all you who are desirous of learning how the sense of words in the inspired writings, is to be discovered. The exposition is passing shrewd : "*The apostle,*" says he, "*does not inform us in what sense he understands the word servant (Ser-*

*us*); for we find there no definition of the term." See, now, what those can accomplish, who maintain that Paul had been a disciple of the philosophers of Tarsus. "*Wherefore, if the writer wished to be understood by the Romans, he could have intended the term servant to be understood in no other sense than what obtained among them. And this notion of the term servant, which obtained among the Romans, was that which occurs in the Justinian code; inasmuch as the Roman laws speaks of servants, such as the Romans used.*" Wo, then, to Paul, if he understood the word in a different sense, "*Wherefore, that idea is to be attached to the word servant, as applied to Paul, which obtains in the Roman law.*" And thus he follows out his explanation. Is not this egregious trifling? The good man seems to have cast his eye upon the commencement of this solitary epistle alone. He manifests, besides, an ignorance of the fact, that those Romans to whom the epistle was addressed, consisted, for the most part, of Jews and Jewish proselytes, in writing to whom, the apostle might readily annex a Hebrew sense to Greek words; as he has, in fact, done, throughout the whole epistle. And, in the next place, he was not aware, that the usage of speech permitted, in prefatory portions of the epistles, the apostolical epistles especially, terms of dignity to be used, rather than expressions of modesty, in order that authority might be secured to the writer,—a fact abundantly manifest from the introduction to the epistle to the Galatians. How much better, therefore, and compendious, is the exposition of the grammarian, that, according to the Hebrew usage, those are styled *servants* of royal personages, whom we, at the present day, designate by the most honourable appellation of *ministers*; that it is frequently a term of dignity; and that, in the Old Testament, Moses is styled, in the same sense, *a servant of God*, as is observed by

Masius, an interpreter of the first rank, when commenting upon Jos. i. 1. ; and that Paul, also, is here denominated a *servant of Christ*, on account of his venerable apostolical office. I might cite many more such specimens of interpretation, from this same author. Nevertheless, on a certain occasion, having despatched an analysis of this kind, he makes his empty boast, in the first place, that he who shall have known how to apply, with skill, (as in the example, I suppose, just cited,) the principles of philosophy, in interpreting the sacred Scriptures, will be able to satisfy himself that he has elicited the genuine sense (we have just seen, forsooth, a specimen of this); and, in the next place, that the interpretation, thus pursued, penetrates more deeply into the very core of the thing (he plays the mischief, indeed, with the core of the Scriptures,) than is usually done, &c. Nor, indeed, is this folly peculiar to one class of philosophers alone ; but all, in proportion as they are, or wish to be esteemed, the most ingenious, are especially devoted to it. So that, according to the Latin proverb, they excite waves in a porringer: in other words, those passages, which might have been explained briefly, clearly, and satisfactorily, upon grammatical principles, as an endless number of passages of the Greek and Latin authors have been explained, they so involve in the mazes and obscurity of logical subtilty, that it becomes more difficult for an interpreter to understand their explication, than the thing itself which is attempted to be explained. Of this kind, I have met with two remarkable specimens in the *Dialectica* of Adolp. Fr. Hofmann, p. 1146., upon the reading of which, I was forced to exclaim ὅτε μοι λεκά-  
vην *bring me the basin*.

I do not consider it necessary, to animadvert upon those also, who find in the sacred Scriptures all the dogmas of their own sect. For they fall, of course, under our general reprehension, from this circumstance, that they annex to

the words of the sacred books, the senses suggested by the instructions of their several masters, derived generally, from a vernacular version, or from some three-penny vocabulary. Nor, is it necessary, to spend much time in exposing the folly of those, who make use of uncertain opinions, which they denominate *hypotheses*, in investigating the sense of the words; which many have done, for example, in explaining the words in relation to Sarah, found in the epistle to the Hebrews, vi. 11. *δύναμιν ἔλαβεν εἰς κατὰβολὴν σπέρματος*, where, according to these hypothetical interpreters, the phrase *κατὰβολὴ σπέρματος* is to be understood of the female seed, by whose commixture with that of the male, according to the philosophers, the offspring is generated. For, this is altogether hypothetical; or, I might rather say, false. Nor, is it to be credited, that Paul would have accommodated his forms of speech to these notions, even if they had been true, as Grotius, Calov, and others, have observed. In fact, the word *κατὰβολή*, in the phrase *κατὰβολὴ σπέρματος*, imports the same as it does in the phrase *κατὰβολὴ κόσμου* *the beginning of the world, or the Creation*. Josephus,\* also, uses the expression *κατὰβολὴ πολέμου*; Clemens,† *κατὰβολὴ σπάσεως*; and the Greek physicians, *κατὰβολὴ πυρετῆς*, which the Latins denominate *accessio*, and *initium febris*, *the fit, commencement of a fever, paroxysm*. Accordingly, *κατὰβάλλειν σπέρμα* will denote the same as the Latin *fundare domum*, or *familiam*, as Drachenborch ‡ has proved, by many examples; and this takes place when an offspring is obtained, especially a male offspring and a first born, on which rests the hope of a seed: so that *κατὰβολὴ σπέρματος* will denote either the procreation of offspring, or the founding of a family and house, from which the Messiah was to come. I shall dwell, therefore, only upon that mode of

\* B. I. ii. 17. 2.      † Ep. ad. Corinth. extr.      ‡ Sil. Ital. II. 65.



interpretation, which makes it a principal part of the business of the interpreter, to search out subtle arguments from philosophy, by means of which, he may pour light, forsooth, upon the expressions of Christ and the apostles: or, as they express themselves, declare the connexion of the predicate with the subject, by an analysis of the proposition, into the principles either of reason alone, or of reason and revelation. There fell into my hands, by some accident, the notes of a certain rector in a school of some repute, in which, by means of this art, among others, he had vitiated the fifth chapter of Matthew. For, from the very outset, having explained the blessedness there spoken of, from the leaves of some philosophical compend, he had undertaken to show, by the aid of demonstrations, more keen and delicate than even the beards upon the wheat, and drawn from the first principles of unerring reason, in what manner the notion of this blessedness was determined by ideas of the subjects, or by the subjective notions; as if the words of our consummately wise Saviour could not otherwise be received, or as if the divine authority were not of more avail than any metaphysical demonstration. Some, however, have even given to the public such speculations as these, which impede, rather than advance, the understanding of the sacred books; especially if they do not rest upon the legitimate interpretation of the words, which is generally neglected in these abstract demonstrations. Whence it frequently happens to the demonstrators, as it did to those keen philosophers in Plutarch, who, upon some figs being brought forward to the repast, among which they discovered some locks of wool, began, forthwith, to dispute, with great acuteness, and to inquire into the manner and the cause of the growth of locks of wool amongst the figs; until, after a very protracted and keen discussion, a servant entered and informed them by what accident the wool had adhered to the figs: and thus, to the



great mortification of the fools, put an end to the idle dispute. These are the *cunningly devised fables*, (σσοπισμῶν λόγους) the *skilfully invented arguments*, which Peter declares. he had not followed, in proving the majesty and dignity of Christ; from which, also, it becomes the good and prudent interpreter to abstain. It is quite sufficient, if he simply understands the mind of the inspired writers, as those understood it, to whom they originally wrote. I think it is Gregory Nazianzen who says, *it does not become us to dispute ingeniously, and with logical art, but to be thoroughly versed in divine things*. And, indeed, the Holy Spirit does not assert his power over the minds of men, in bringing them to the faith, and conforming them to holiness, by means of exquisite arguments, excogitated in the human brain, but by means of the sense and meaning of his own words. Enough has been said upon that mode of interpretation which abuses philosophical subtilty. Let us now add a few words concerning the other mode, (a more tolerable one, indeed, because it is comparatively harmless; but, still, not altogether worthy of approbation,) which misapplies theological truth itself, and thus is engaged in philosophizing, in a certain sense, about the words of the inspired writers, rather than in rightly discharging the office of an interpreter.

The number is, and always has been, very limited, of those who are as familiar with the diction of the New Testament, as we have shown, in the discussion *on the difficulties attending the interpretation of the New Testament*, every one should be, who seeks to attain a competent ability in the discharge of this duty. For, I have been taught by observation and experience, that such only, as have carefully perused the Alexandrine Version, and have compared it, on the one hand, with the Hebrew text, and on the other, with the remains of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, connecting with this, the reading also of

Philo and Josephus, are very successful in this business ; to say nothing of other qualifications, necessary for attaining to a competent knowledge of the diction of the New Testament. Most persons either do not possess the means, which would enable them to procure, for themselves, this apparatus of books ; or else are destitute of that familiarity with Greek letters, which would qualify them to make a right use of such books, and to engage, rightly, in the comparison above alluded to ; or, finally, have not the leisure from necessary avocations, which suffices for that labour. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that few have been found, during all ages, who have been sufficiently equipped for the business of interpretation. But, having, notwithstanding this incompetency, assumed the office of interpreting, they adopt, as a substitute for the proper knowledge and ability, the knowledge of sacred things derived from perspicuous passages, and from the systems of theologians, and, sometimes, even of philosophers ; and having formed an acquaintance, in some sort, with words, from the lexicons in common use, and from vernacular versions, especially from the Vulgate, they commence, with this apparatus, the interpretation of the more difficult passages, sometimes with success, but frequently with utter failure. Accordingly, so great a number of false, or rather, inaccurate, interpretations, has come into vogue, that if any one, after the example of Amama Sixtinus, were desirous of composing an *Antibarbarus Biblicus*, for the purpose of collecting and refuting such errors, in the interpretation of the New Testament, as he collected and refuted, in the interpretation of a great part of the Old, he might easily fill a massive volume. Let us however cite a few examples, confining ourselves to the Epistle to the Romans alone ; from which, it will be obvious to any one, that if these learned commentators had been more diligent and accurate in learning and applying the grammatical art, they

would have been less entangled with difficulties ; and certain controversies would never have existed. For experience has convinced me, that apparently trifling grammatical observations, are sometimes of incalculable service ; and that, when these are not readily and seasonably applied, great difficulties occur, of which fact I have many examples in store, which shall be produced in a more convenient place.

In the portion which occurs in ch. vii. 14. ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐγὼ δὲ σαρκικός *the law is spiritual but I am carnal*, some are wont to philosophize exceedingly upon the attribute of the law πνευματικός, and to insist, that the law is thus styled, because it proceeds from God who is a Spirit ; because it demands spiritual, and not merely an external, obedience ; because it ought to render us spiritual ; &c. All these explications have arisen from a metaphysical treatment of the corresponding word in the Vulgate, and could not, possibly, have entered into the minds of those to whom Paul wrote. These expositors should have known, that the Hebrews were accustomed to attach to the word תָּמִיד the signification of *perfection, excellence, strength, efficiency* ; and to the word חֲלָא, the notion of *imperfection, weakness*, by a very apt and beautiful metaphor : See Is. xxxi. 3. *Now the Egyptians are men, and not God, and their horses, flesh, and not spirit* ; not to speak of other passages to the same effect. Hence the Jews who used the Greek language, when they translated the word תָּמִיד by πνεῦμα, attached the same meaning to this latter word. The Gospel, for instance, is denominated πνεῦμα *spirit*, because of its power to confer salvation ; while the law is styled σὰρξ *flesh*, because it can neither confer salvation, nor render men holy. In 1 Cor. iii. 1., tyros in Christian doctrine and experience, are called σαρκικοί ; those more advanced, πνευματικοί. So that, the law is styled, in the passage under consideration, πνευματικός, on account of the perfection and excellence

of its precepts, and for no other reason, as the context clearly proves. Paul, on the contrary, styles himself σαρκικός, on account of his inability to observe the law, from the influence of the natural corruption under which he laboured, which prevented his ever acquiring sufficient moral strength to satisfy the perfection of the law by a perfect holiness. Is not such an explication more easy and clear, than those just adverted to, and other hallucinations, which are advanced by some, concerning Paul, in relation to his carnal nature?

In ch. viii. 15., we have the following words, ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ *whereby we cry Abba, Father*. It has been asked, why a Syriac word and a Greek one are here used conjointly? The difficulty could easily have been solved, grammatically, by saying, that ὁ πατήρ is a translation of the other word, the connecting words ὅ ἐστιν being omitted, which are, on some occasions, introduced, though not on all: see Acts xiii. 8., on which passage, consult Drusius and Grotius. But a more sagacious, exquisite, and silly explication was discovered. This form of expression, it is said, was adopted, in order to show, that the Jews and the Greeks were permitted to call God *Father*, as Augustine explains it, in his remarks upon Ps. lxxxvii. (Opp. T. viii. p. 878); or, because it is the practice of those, who solicit any thing affectionately from another, to employ repetition; which latter solution meets the approbation of Grotius. That there is nothing in all this, might easily be shown. We shall decline, here, saying any thing about the words κλητός, κλησίς, πρόθεσις, πρόγνωσις, and others in this same chapter, in elucidating which, more regard has been had, in general, to versions, than to the Hebrew usage of speech in respect to the original words, which those were intended to express; from which circumstance, have proceeded difficulties and controversies, which even now disturb the peace of theologians.



The words which occur in the 11 vs. of the ix. ch. ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις μέν, have also perplexed interpreters. For, finding the term ἐκλογὴ expressed, in the dictionaries, by the word *electio*, and πρόθεσις, by *propositum*; and being aware, that *propositum secundum electionem decree according to election*, could not be understood, nor reconciled with their system of doctrine; they resorted to the figure *hypallage*, as if the thing intended to be expressed were ἡ κατὰ πρόθεσιν ἐκλογὴ *the election according to the decree*. The interpretation of Grotius is equally harsh, *libertas in rebus quae ad praelationem pertinent freedom in things pertaining to preference or election*, which rendering the Greek construction forbids. Without regarding such modes of explication, the force of the words might have been more successfully ascertained. For, in the first place, πρόθεσις is equivalent to θέλημα as in 2 Macc. iii. 8., denoting *good will, kind regard, beneficent mind*, or, in one word *kindness, benignity*; in which sense θέλημα frequently occurs, answering to the Hebrew רַצוֹן and יְחֵן, as in Rom. i. 10. Πρόθεσις is clearly used, in 2 Tim. i. 10., to denote *gratuitous favour, benignity, grace*, for, it is there opposed to *works ἔργοις*, which do not make void the purposes of God, but annul his free grace and the gratuitousness of the divine goodness. Moreover, ἐκλογὴ, in the sense of *free will, choice*, is the foundation, or source, or original principle, of liberty; where it exists, liberty is also found; accordingly, it is used to denote *liberty or freedom in choice*; according to the idiom of the Hebrews, who were unable, or unaccustomed, I believe, to express liberty in acting, especially in acts of beneficence, but by the word רַחֲבָ. Ἐκλογὴ, therefore, is *liberty*. The phrase κατ' ἐκλογὴν, which intervenes between the article and the substantive, takes the force of an adjective, according to the usage of the Greeks. In Polybius οἱ κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἄνδρες are *chosen men*. In this very epistle, below, ch. x.,



ζῆλος κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν *a wise and intelligent zeal*. So also in ch. xi. οἱ κατὰ φύσιν κλάδοι *the natural branches*, &c. So that, the sense of the passage is this, *but that the kindness of God might be unhesitatingly regarded as free ; or, that the free grace of God might remain unimpeached and acknowledged ;* which sense accords, most evidently, with the drift of the discourse of Paul.

I shall adduce one more example, from the 18. vs. of the same chapter, οὐκ ἐλέει, ὃν θέλει, ὃν δὲ θέλει, σκληρύνει. I shall not rehearse the violent interpretations, which have been given, of this passage, by our own theologians as well as others. The verb σκληρύνειν, they rendered *indurare (to harden)*, the signification of which term, had been settled, and defined in their theological compends. A discussion, accordingly, was started, how God could be said, in consistency with his goodness and justice to *harden men*. But, in this passage, there is no allusion to that *hardening* which theologians speak of in their systems. The fact is simply this : It is manifest, in the first place, from vs. 25., where we have the term ἡγαπημένον that ἐλεῖν, by a Hebraism, denotes *to love, to bestow kindness upon*, since, in Hosea, the Hebrew word is properly to be translated ἡλεημένον, and the whole discourse of the prophet shows, that he speaks of the universal regard and care of God for the Israelites. If this be settled, it follows, even from the nature of the opposition, that σκληρύνειν denotes *not to love, not to care for, not to bestow kindness upon*, (in the same sense as the word occurs a little before, in vs. 13, *to esteem less, to slight*,) and hence, *to treat more harshly*, by sending want, and servitude, and other calamities. But this is also clear, from a comparison of the word σκληρύνειν, with the Hebrew כָּחַשׁ, to which it corresponds. I have read, somewhere, a remark of Kimchi, that it is spoken also of God, when he conceals from some men his counsels, which he reveals to others whom he loves. But.

it is abundantly manifest, from Job xxxix. 16, that it denotes *to treat harshly, not to regard with kindness*, for it is there spoken of the ostrich, who does not nourish and cherish her young, as other birds are wont to do. The Septuagint translates it ἀπεσχλήρυνε τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς *she neglects her young*. With this explication, every thing is easy and plain. *God bestows his favours, at his pleasure ; he bestows them, on whom he will, and from whom he will, he withholds them.*

From these examples, I think it is plain, (as might be shown from other examples also, without number,) that the method of discovering the true sense of the sacred books, and of defending the truth against the assaults of adversaries, by means of a correct knowledge of the original languages, is both more expeditious and more satisfactory, than that, which promises the same by means of doctrinal systems and metaphysical principles.

And now, although what we have said, concerning this whole method of philosophizing in interpretation, without the aid which grammatical studies proffer, is calculated to evince its folly ; still, I wish to add a few remarks, upon the subject in general, if, perhaps, we may thus be enabled to withdraw from the pursuit of this method, those youth who are devoted to sacred letters, and excite them to the study of languages.\*

And, first of all, it is much to the prejudice of this method, that the history of every age teaches, that barbarism, and corruption of sacred things, both came into existence and vanished with it ; while, by the method which we advocate, that is, by the grammatical method, the purity of religion has been both restored and preserved. Accordingly, at the reformation, in which Luther acted so conspicuous a part, nothing was more frequently lauded, nor more zealously cultivated, than the study of languages, which circumstance, every where gave birth to men, with

whom, we find none, at a period when those studies had again declined, who will bear even a remote comparison. Hence the frequent reprehensions, which occur in the writings of Luther, directed against philosophy, or rather, against those persons who philosophize in sacred things, and, by their empty wisdom, and stupid subtilties, either obscure or pervert the inspired writings. It is also a circumstance worthy of commemoration, that some illustrious men, richly furnished with the knowledge of philosophy and of theological learning, still, in presenting precepts of interpretation, recommend the languages and grammatical learning, and not the arts with which they themselves were most familiar. In which number, Augustine may be mentioned, who, being, as is abundantly manifest, ignorant of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and well skilled in all the other departments of learning, nevertheless, attributes the highest importance to a knowledge of those languages, and to the just comparison of versions, for rightly understanding the sacred books;\* who calls in the aid, however, of philosophy, for the digesting and reducing to the fashion and form of a science, and for discussing and defending, those things which have been known by means of a correct understanding of the inspired writings, and from no other source. It is well enjoined by the masters of the art of interpretation, that the sense is to be brought *out* of the sacred books, and not to be brought *into* them, from some other quarter. But is not this latter the course pursued by those, who adopt, in interpretation, the notions derived from philosophy? And is not the former the course of those, who inquire, grammatically, what is the usage of speech of each language, age, and writer respectively; and aim, by the aid of this, to elicit the sense? You subtilize admirably, it may be; you set forth nice definitions, drawn

\* Lib. II. de Doctr. Christiana.

from the instructions of your master. From these you draw out, if possible, long series of demonstrations. What if some one should arise and say, *the words have quite a different signification?* Will not the whole fabric of your subtile demonstrations fall to the ground? This, then, is the surest way to pyrrhonism in religion. You do well, indeed, to cite arguments from some system of science, according to which, you think the words are thus to be understood. Another advances, of another sect, and asserts, from his system, that all this is false, and goes to work, in the same manner, to establish the contrary. What can you say in return? Must you not, of necessity, resort to the usage of speech, if you wish to establish any thing certain, to which your opponent will be constrained to yield?

Wherefore, since, by the goodness of God, we have been favoured with the results of the labours of so many distinguished men, from the reformation down to the present day, by whom every necessary help has been supplied, for the successful study of the original languages, by rightly employing which, we are enabled to investigate and discover, with ease and certainty, the true sense of the sacred writings; let us gratefully accept and use this assistance, afforded in the kind providence of God, and not permit things to revert again to a state of barbarism. This must, of necessity, be the case, as is rightly concluded by Perizonius,\* if that metaphysical method prevails. “*If*” says he, “*this study and labour, to understand thoroughly the sacred Scriptures, should cease, (and they will, of necessity cease, the moment the original languages shall be buried in ignorance,) what, then, will remain, but that the human mind, which cannot lie altogether idle and torpid, will give itself up to metaphysical subtilties, and employ itself in madly disputing, with the greatest zeal*

\* Or. de usu Graecae et Latinae Linguae p. 33.

*and industry, about things of no importance; which circumstance has proved, in the ages that are past, a source of the most grievous calamity to the theological community?"* And, we should be the rather induced to do this, from this additional consideration, that other advantages also are proffered to those who pursue the course here recommended. For, men are sometimes found to labour hard, under the guidance of the metaphysical method, when something is to be written, and a specimen of their talents and learning is to be presented, and to give birth, at length, to monstrous and ridiculous productions, which certainly can boast of no utility. But, if they pursue the way which we have proposed, they will not experience this sterility, nor be crowded within such narrow limits. For that field is fertile, nor can subjects for writing ever be wanting to those who cultivate it; while, at the same time, their productions may be perused and approved by the learned of every sect, and may prove useful in fixing and confirming the truths of Christianity.



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The Subscriber, as temporary Editor, need offer, therefore, no apology for the miscellaneous appearance of the present Number.

Besides, the number of those on this side of the Atlantic, who take a lively interest in Biblical studies, conducted on an enlarged and liberal plan, is very small. Systems of Divinity, Theological Compendes, and Doctrinal Essays, are more apt to be studied than the Bible ; and the fundamental question, *What does the Bible really teach?* has not yet assumed that prominence in the Theological course of education which it deserves.

It is true, there are many circumstances which brighten the prospects of Biblical Literature in America. Under an impulse which is just beginning to be felt from within ourselves, strengthened by the influence of popular writings from abroad, we are rapidly growing, with our Colleges and Seminaries, into a taste for those profounder investigations, which have for centuries characterized the learning of the Old World. As a

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

necessary consequence, the attention of the young is beginning to be awakened to the subject of Exegetical Theology. The sentiment is becoming prevalent, that the extravagant interpretations and the petulant controversies, by which sectarianism is upheld, must yield for the most part to the systematic efforts of learning and piety, to ascertain *precisely what the word of God*—THE UNIVERSAL STANDARD—*reveals*.

Notwithstanding this, the number of Biblical scholars amongst us is exceedingly limited : And a work, designed to excite and cherish a taste for Biblical studies, especially those of a critical and exegetical character, will find but few congenial spirits ready to catch and diffuse the glow. The names of these few appear on our subscription list, not because they expect to derive information and profit from our pages, (for they generally anticipate us in their private reading and study) but from a laudable desire to aid in disseminating the knowledge which they relish themselves, and deem important for others.

If, then, the incomparably larger portion of our readers and subscribers are to be interested and profited by the Repertory, variety, to the full extent permitted by the original plan, must be introduced ; and perhaps even more might be admissible, without detracting from the Biblical and Critical character of the work.

The subscriber indulges the hope, that the dawn of Biblical study among us is rapidly advancing ; that the American youth, who from time to time enrich their minds with knowledge in foreign lands, and catch the spirit of philological research, from the ardent and devoted scholars in whose atmosphere they are permitted to live, will soon be enabled, in their native land, to rally round a common standard, animated with the same enlarged views, and concentrating their energies with efficient co-operation—an invincible band, well equipped, and exerting a powerful influence on the Biblical Literature of our country.

R. B. PATTON.

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## BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

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THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

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ON  
**THE DIFFICULTY**  
ATTENDING  
THE GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION  
OF THE  
**New Testament.**

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ON THE  
Difficulty attending the Grammatical Interpretation  
OF THE  
**NEW TESTAMENT.**

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*[The author delivered these discourses, with an interval of a year or more between them severally; in consequence of which, he deemed it proper, to recapitulate, in this place, the contents of the preceding discourses. This recapitulation is omitted in the translation as unnecessary.]*

IV.

\* \* \* \* \* Having shown the necessity and excellence of grammatical interpretation, and having exposed the folly of those who philosophize, rather than interpret, in expounding the sacred writings; it now remains for us, to speak of the difficulty of this mode of interpretation;—not of that which is common to all books written in languages no longer in common use, and especially the more ancient languages (of which subject I have already treated); but, of that, in particular, which is peculiar to the grammatical interpretation of the New Testament.

V.

And here we are not without our fears, lest some persons should say, we are exceeding the bounds of prudence, in thus undertaking to lay open and to augment the diffi-

culties of this method, which it rather becomes us, by every means within our power, to diminish and to conceal :

As oft, benign,  
The sapient nurse, when anxious to enforce  
On the pale boy, the wormwood's bitter draught,  
With luscious honey tints the goblet's edge;  
Deceiving thus, while yet unus'd to guile,  
His unsuspecting lip; till deep he drinks,  
And gathers vigour from the venial cheat. \*

We are aware, indeed, that many teachers are accustomed to profess, that they have discovered a short and easy way, by which they can conduct to knowledge, those who will receive them as their guides ; and, with this bait, they allure the unwary to their own hurt. But we have always been induced to regard these boastful promisers (would I could say *professors*,) as closely resembling those deluded mortals, who promised to communicate to others the art of making gold, while they themselves were suffering from the want of nothing so much as that of gold. For ourselves, we have always looked upon it as worthy of the liberality of a polite scholar, to whet and incite the minds of the gifted and studious, by candidly rehearsing the difficulties of learning, rather than, by concealing and denying the fact, to detain in the pursuit, the more dull and sluggish, who are, however, themselves, sometimes awakened from their slumbers, by reflecting upon the difficulty. We should much prefer to follow the example of *Virtue*, personified by Prodicus as cited by Xenophon, who acknowledged the way which she recommended to Hercules, to be a long and arduous one ; rather than the example of *Vice*, personified by the same writer, who endeavoured to deceive Hercules by a delicious preamble of anticipated pleasures.

\* Lucret. l. 938. Good's Translation.

## VI.

In order, however, that the plan of this whole discussion may be obvious, we shall present, at the outset, a general view, by recounting the several requisites of this mode of interpretation, in all of which, as we shall show, considerable difficulties present themselves. These several requisites are the following : an accurate and cautious judgment, in relation to the various readings ; a keenness and acuteness of understanding, by means of which we may discern what we comprehend clearly and what we do not, and discover the difficulties in the way of a clear understanding ; an ability to distinguish between the pure Greek and the Hebrew idiom ; a skilful investigation of the sense, in either case, by means of the usage of speech and the analogy of languages ; an exact knowledge of grammatical rules and observations, and a diligent examination of every thing by them ; a careful discrimination between tropical and proper diction ; a critical examination of emphases, so as to distinguish the true from the false ; and an apposite and natural reconciliation of apparent discrepancies.

## VII.

An accurate and cautious judgment, in relation to the reading of each passage, occupies the first place. For, as Quintilian well enjoins, "*the emendation of the reading must precede the interpretation.*" And this is become still more necessary, perhaps, at the present day, than it was formerly, inasmuch as so many massive volumes of various readings have been published, the reading of so many passages has been called in question, and so many conjectures have been offered, concerning the true reading. This judgment constitutes a part of *Criticism* ; which, as in every other department of science, so also in Grammar, occu-

pies the first rank, and is styled, for this reason, by the ancients, γραμματικὴ ἀκριβεστέρα *a more exact Grammar*. This part of Grammar, however, is far more difficult than the rest, because it demands, not only an accurate knowledge and application of all those parts, upon which it may be said to rest, as upon a foundation, but also, many and excellent virtues of the mind and heart, without which, it is, in fact, and is justly accounted, *injudiciousness* and *rashness*, rather than *criticism*. But, as every art consists of two things, viz. rules and their application, it would not be easy to decide, which part of this particular art of criticism, so far as it is applicable to the books of the New Testament, is the more difficult and perplexed. In the first place, in regard to rules, by means of which we either decide concerning each individual portion of the critical apparatus, that is, concerning the Greek copies, whether manuscript or printed, concerning the ancient versions, and concerning the commentaries or testimonies of the Fathers, and their authority universally; or else, direct our judgment in the choice of a reading, in particular passages; how great the difficulties are, which present themselves in this part, must be obvious, to every one, who is not grossly ignorant of the writings of the most erudite scholars, down to the present day, or who has, himself, at any time, made the experiment, with care. Indeed, the nature of the thing itself, shows, that the difficulties here are greater than in any human writings. For, in proportion as the number and variety of manuscript and printed copies, of versions, of ancient commentaries, and of other testimonies, increases, the difficulty also increases, of satisfying, (while we endeavour to form rules, pertaining to the variety of readings, and drawn from these sources,) not merely the unskilful, with whom we have here a great and troublesome contention, but even the skilful, intelligent and impartial. And it is a still more perplexing task, to furnish rules for



the choice of a reading. This is owing, as well to other general causes, as, in particular, to the circumstances of the case, and the nature of the diction employed by the inspired writers. We have attempted to show, on another occasion,\* that our judgment, in relation to a reading to be chosen, is more uncertain, in the case of writers who, although good writers, are, nevertheless, not tenacious, in every particular, of the laws of accurate speech; than in the case of the more ancient Greek and Latin writers, in whose age, custom had altered, as yet, nothing of their exquisite style and manner. Owing to this circumstance, we are very frequently unable to decide, in these matters, with confidence. How widely the diction of the New Testament departs from those perfect examples of Grecian diction, viz. Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and the like has been remarked by Origen, Chrysostom and Jerome, not to mention more recent writers; and is perceived, also, by all such as are thoroughly acquainted with the Greek. Accordingly, some canons of criticism, which we adopt in relation to the more ancient, and, in point of style and diction, more approved, human books, have been reversed in their application to these books; that canon, for example, which we are wont to regard as the most certain; on the authority of which, very many readings, in other books, both Greek and Latin, have been settled, viz. *that of two readings, the one which is the more correct and refined, is to be preferred to the one which is the more common, and, grammatically speaking, less correct*:—a circumstance which was formerly noticed by Origen and others, who are enumerated at large, by Wetstein (Can. vii.), and by Erasmus (on 1 Cor. xv. 51.), with the approbation of Joh. Gerhard (Loc. Theol. De resurr. mort. § 117.), and after these, lately, by Pfaff and Bengel.

\* Praef. Sueton. p. 13.

## VIII.

Such being the case, it is not to be wondered at, that we do not possess, as yet, under the head of *Canons of Criticism*, any work, relating to various readings in general, and their selection, in which, the practical and experienced critic will not find many things to be wanting. I shall say nothing of the canons of Maastricht, with which, critics are wont to rest satisfied, although they do not deserve to be counted among the number of rules; so false, vague, and confusedly arranged, are those which pertain to the critical apparatus, while those which pertain to the choice of readings are useless. The late Bengel laboured, with great diligence and modesty, in this preceptive department. He endeavoured, in particular, to define, by rules, the use to be made of the manuscript copies of the Fathers, and of versions; but this excellent man failed when he came to treat of the choice of readings, in the first place, through a veneration for the Alexandrian Manuscript, in which, he was not aware that the Greek context had been, in innumerable passages, altered in conformity to the Latin version; and, in the next place, through a disregard of the subject and the words, directing us to adhere solely to the rules which he had penned concerning the books and their authority; whereas, the antiquity of a reading, without intrinsic goodness, which is to be estimated by a regard to the sense and to grammatical precepts, can, or at least ought to, avail nothing. What shall I say of Wetstein, who, although he aimed to be the first and most powerful in this department, can, by no means, afford satisfaction, I will not say, to the unlearned, and, on account of their ignorance, hostile to this critical method, but, to the intelligent? For, not to mention the paucity of the precepts, and their indistinct arrangement, how vague and indefinite, and, of course,

useless, are the following ! *The reading which is shown to be the more ancient, is, ceteris paribus, preferable. The reading presented by the greater number of manuscripts, is, ceteris paribus, preferable.* For, this *ceteris paribus* renders the matter obscure and uncertain ; so that, what is said amounts merely to this, *The reading which is the more ancient, and presented by the greater number of manuscripts, is sometimes to be preferred, and sometimes to be rejected.* And what can be more futile ? Again, how bold and presumptuous is the following. *Nothing forbids us to receive into the text, a reading, differing from that presented by the printed copies and the one commonly received, not only when it can be established by adequate arguments, but also when it still remains a matter of doubt, which of the two is preferable.* Who does not see, how great a license is here given, in regard to the vulgar text, to the caprice or ignorance of every one ;—a license which is not at all granted in human writings ?

## IX.

Of all with whom we are acquainted, the scholar who has laboured, with the most success, in this department generally, \* is C. M. Pfaff, a theologian of distinguished learning. For, he has not only drawn the distinction between the one and the other class of rules, but has furnished, also, sound and useful precepts for the choice of readings. Nevertheless, should any one, who has attained, by exercise, to some skill and readiness in decisions of this nature, endeavour to reduce these rules to practice, he will find himself sometimes at a loss. This is owing to the fact, that the precepts are sometimes not sufficiently definite ; which quality, however, in an especial manner, renders rules, in any case, fit

\* De Var. Lectt. N. T.

for application. For, it is not universally true, what the very first canon sanctions, that *The reading of the more ancient manuscripts, or of the majority, is to be preferred to that of the more recent, or of the minority.* For, the later manuscripts have sometimes been derived from better copies than the older ones; and particularly in these books, of which we are treating, almost all the most ancient manuscripts of which, have been modelled after the Latin version; and, moreover, in every class of writings, it is frequently the case, that the reading of one manuscript is rightly preferred to that of all the rest, as those are well aware, who have any experience in matters of criticism, and have explored, even in one ancient author, the sources of every reading. Nor is the following rule sufficiently circumscribed: *The apologies of the Fathers, the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and the Septuagint version, generally exhibit the true reading;* from which, no one, certainly, would venture to decide, with confidence, on any passage. For, we do not find here a sure character of truth, which we may seize upon and turn to account in every passage; but a bare possibility, if I may so speak, of discovering the true reading, by those methods which, in no case, suffice for acting, judging, or deciding. If, indeed, it had pleased J. D Michaelis, a theologian of the first rank, to undertake and explain this whole subject, we should, perhaps, have been put in possession of a work but little removed from perfection. For, in a treatise\* which he gave to the world some seven years since, he has discussed, with so much diligence, that part of the subject which relates to the sources of the various readings, and to the estimation of the value of the single readings; especially in that portion of the treatise which pertains to the manuscripts interpolated from the Latin

\* De Var. Lectt. N. T.

version, and to the readings of the versions in general, and particularly to those of the Oriental versions, that he has, unquestionably, excelled all those who have preceded him. But, as he has not touched upon the other and the more difficult preceptive part of this subject, which relates to the comparison of the various classes of readings, and to the judgment and selection necessary in particular passages, from which we might derive assistance in judging of the truth of a reading, and in refuting those who are in error, the business is not completed, even in this work, although a noble one.

### X.

But, even admitting that this part of the subject were so carefully and definitely settled, by written rules, that the most competent judges could desire nothing more ; still, many and great difficulties would remain, in the application of these rules, which is always a more difficult business than the formation of the rules themselves. For, these rules are still employed in an affair which admits of conjecture, and they do not possess such a necessity, that a departure from them is not sometimes to be made. Besides, in the exercise of this judgment, we need, also, in these sacred writings, as well as in other ancient books, a certain natural sagacity, accompanied with honesty and a love of truth, together with much reading and practice. This same sagacity avails more, in my opinion, than nice and subtile rules. How rarely this valuable quality is found, and by how few, even when it is met with, it is cherished and improved, in the manner I have stated, is known to all. How frequently does some preconceived and false notion occasion difficulty and trouble ; and, while men are unwilling to relinquish this, they are either blinded in regard to matters which are clear, or else resort to quibbles, and endeavour, in every way, to accommodate every thing to that



notion ; as we have lately seen in Wetstein, and frequently in others. Most men are also inconsistent with themselves, rejecting, in particular passages, what they had approved in their general rules ; or rejecting, in their general rules, what they adopt in many particular passages. From all these considerations, and from many others which might be mentioned, our position is established, that, in no other book is it so difficult to judge accurately concerning the readings, as in these inspired writings.

## XI.

Another requisite in a good interpreter, which must also precede the interpretation, is, according to our division, a certain *keenness* and *acuteness of understanding*, whose efficacy is seen in this, that its possessor is not deceived, by supposing that he comprehends what he does not comprehend ; but, in every instance, perceives clearly whether he sufficiently understands the words of the sacred writers or not. This quality depends, in part, upon a natural felicity of genius and a promptness of apprehension ; for, just in proportion as any one is more stupid, is he the more ready to suppose that he understands what he does not understand ; and, in part, also, upon diligence, and a habit of discriminating between the sounds of words and their meaning, which cannot be estimated by means of other words, especially by those which are equally obscure, but by a consciousness of the ideas present to the mind. How this keenness and acuteness of understanding, in general, is to be acquired, and by what exercises it can be preserved and improved, we are accustomed to teach in works on Logic. But, in reading books which are written in a language not vernacular, especially an ancient language, and one removed from common use, how we may guard against deception, and know, with certainty, whether we understand the words of the writer or not, although we employ rules

here also, still, we teach it principally by assiduous exercise and by examples,—which is the plainest and surest way. But we are not now engaged in furnishing rules. This clear understanding is, however, by no means, of easy attainment, owing to the difficulty of the exercise itself, which difficulty arises from an inherent fault of the human mind, too prone to recall every thing to sense, as well as from a natural tardiness in withdrawing the mind from sense, and subjecting to its examination the original ideas themselves. Hence the same thing frequently happens, even to the most accomplished scholars, which, as I have elsewhere remarked, happened to Casaubon, who complained of being very often deceived, in this respect. For, those things, which he had regarded as most easy to understand, and as really understood by him, he discovered, upon essaying to explain them to others, in plain and perspicuous terms, were not clearly understood. And if this happens, sometimes, to the most learned and experienced in this department, what shall we expect, in regard to those who are scarcely possessed of moderate learning, and have been but little exercised in this keenness and acuteness?—of which character are the majority of those who come to the business of sacred interpretation. Especially as there is another and a peculiar cause of difficulty, arising from the fact, that, in the case of the inspired writings, we more readily persuade ourselves that we understand what we do not understand, on account of the familiarity which, from infancy, our ears have contracted, with the sounds of the words. The practice, also, of translating the Greek into Latin, word for word, in place of employing a good, that is, a perspicuous, Latin idiom and diction, is exceedingly injurious; which practice, tolerated, formerly, in the Latin versions of the Greek authors, at a time when but few had advanced far in the knowledge of Greek letters, but at the present day entirely discarded, (for who can now bear to hear the

phrases βίην Ἡρακλείην, μέτρα θαλάσσης χλωρὸν ἀδάμαντα, translated *vim Herculanam, mensuras maris, viridem adamantam*, which, with innumerable others of the like kind, were formerly found in the versions,) in translating the sacred books, is, I will not say, merely *tolerated*, but regarded as having become almost *consecrated*. So that, we find it a very difficult matter, to guard against these sources of deception. The truth of this, I have experienced, in innumerable instances, when dealing with youth of approved talents and literary acquirements. Having translated, word for word, some Greek passage, upon the authority of their lexicon, I have directed them, sometimes, to express, in good Latin, what they thought they understood, (and, by the way, there is no surer sign of the words not being well understood, than when any one cannot express their meaning, clearly, in another language, with which he is familiar, —the meaning of a Greek phrase, for example, in intelligible Latin,)\* or have applied to their minds the engineery, as it were, of interrogations, and thus I have soon discovered how slowly men are brought, under such circumstances, to feel and acknowledge that they do not understand what they thought they understood perfectly. Certain interpretations, also, of particular passages, which, although not at variance with the sum of christian doctrine, are still false and inaccurate, have become so current, that a doubt is seldom admitted into the minds of men, that they understand them perfectly. It is difficult, indeed, for such persons to become aware of their ignorance of the true sense. It could, however, easily be done, provided it were easy to liberate the mind from the shackles of this inveterate habit.

\* Castellio shrewdly observes, on 1 Pet. iv. 6.—*This passage I do not understand, and therefore I have translated it word for word.*

## XII.

The next requisite in a good interpreter, is *the faculty of distinguishing the pure Greek, from that which is tinctured with the Hebrew idiom and usage, whether in detached words or in phrases, and in the whole structure of the discourse.* For, the fact, that the language employed in the books of the New Testament, is a mixture of pure Greek and of words and forms of speech very closely resembling the Hebrew, is so manifest to all who are sufficiently acquainted with the Greek, that those persons who maintain, that every thing, in these books, is pure Greek, are clearly worthy of our commiseration. The necessity of this qualification is greater than is generally supposed. For, not to insist, that the judgment, in relation to the readings, of which I have already spoken, cannot be rightly exercised, without the aid of this judgment and discrimination, of which I am now speaking ;\* strange, distorted, and even prejudicial interpretations frequently arise, in consequence of understanding and illustrating, from the Greek, what was originally derived and spoken from the Hebrew usage ; as Wernfels† was well aware, a theologian lately of Basil, and a man of very elegant learning. In a former discourse I offered some strictures upon a commentator, who expounded, from the Institutes of Justinian, the phrase δοῦλον Ἰησοῦ

\* C. M. Pfaff (de Var. Lect. N. T. p. 196,) in order to illustrate the following canon: *The reading, which the context requires, is to be received*, adduces an example from Matth. v. 47. εἰν ἀσπάσησθε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν μόνον, in which passage, some copies read φίλους. He decides in favour of ἀδελφοὺς, and correctly too. But he gives as a reason, that the love of friends had already been spoken of, in vs. 46, and therefore, φίλους could not be admitted here; whereas, he might have said that the reading φίλους savoured of the gloss of some one who aimed to interpret the word ἀδελφοὺς in a Hebrew sense.

† Opp. Theol. p. 358.

Χριστοῦ *a servant of Jesus Christ*: whereas, it signifies *a minister, an ambassador of Christ*, by a Hebraism, in accordance with which, *leaders in war, and commanders, the counsellors of princes and of kings, are styled their servants*: and, in my *Anti-Muratorius*, \* also, I ventured to criticize those who received the word φόβος in a Greek sense, where it was spoken, according to the Hebrew usage, of *reverence and modesty*. If the words ἀδελφῆς γυναῖκος, which occur in 1 Cor. ix. 5., had been understood, from the Hebrew usage, to denote *a christian wife*, what a world of evil might have been avoided! The Greeks, however, having interpreted it in conformity with the usage of their own language,† as was the case, also, with the Latins, the συνείσακτοι, notwithstanding the opposition of good men, (of the author, for example, of the treatise *De Singularitate Clericorum*, which is published among the works of Cyprian) came into vogue, and perverted the name of *brother and sister*, for the purpose of concealing their lusts; which abuse, strengthened also by the decrees of councils, was at length, not a great while since, suppressed. On this subject, consult Dodwell,‡ who has treated it at large; and Muratori, in a special dissertation, in his *Anecdota Graeca*; which latter author rightly conjectures, that the above mentioned abuse originated from the faulty exposition of this passage of Paul. Of this kind, also, are many interpretations, which we are prevented from enumerating, out of regard to our proposed plan, which calls upon us to illustrate the *difficulty* of the thing,

\* *Anti-Muratorius sive Confutatio Muratorianae Disputationis de Rebus Liturgicis*, published by Ernesti in his *Opuscula Theologica* Lips. 1773. (Tr.)

† Clem. Alexandr. Strom. III. p. 413.

‡ Diss. Cyprianic. III.



and not its necessity. It will suffice, therefore, to have thrown out a warning in this place.

## XIII.

But the exercise of this discrimination is a very difficult matter, for two reasons especially. The one is, that very few possess so intimate an acquaintance with the Greek language, as to be competent to determine what is pure Greek and what is not. Nor is this competency of such a character, that it can be acquired from that brief, and, for the most part, inaccurate instruction, which our youth receive in those lower schools, from which they come up to the study of the most difficult and important sciences. In this degree of proficiency, however, the majority are disposed to acquiesce. A familiarity with the Greek writers, and that, too, an intimate one, must, of necessity, be contracted, which opens the way to a thorough perception and understanding of the genius of that language, in regard both to the structure of detached members, and the composition and connexion of the several members among themselves. How much time and study is requisite, for the attainment of this familiarity, is well known to all those who really possess it. But, admitting the acquisition, in an eminent degree, of this familiar acquaintance with the Greek, still, a considerable difficulty remains, from the second cause, adverted to above. The greatest proficient in Hebrew and Greek learning, in the ancient church, were, as is known to all, Origen and Jerome. But, neither Origen nor Jerome possessed much of this acute discrimination, as is abundantly manifest from their respective annotations; from the old scholia upon the New Testament, which were drawn, for the most part, from the σημειώσεις *remarks* of Origen, which were merely short notes, pertaining to the explanation of the literal sense; and, also, from the annotations of Chrysostom, derived, without

doubt, from the same source : in all of which, many things are explained from the Greek usage, whose explanation should rather have been sought for from the Hebrew. How many scholars, since the revival of letters, and the publication of the books of the New Testament by means of the press, have laboured to explain, in treatises and commentaries, every thing pertaining to the words and the forms of speech, which has been drawn from the Hebrew ? In which respect, Drusius, Grotius, Gataker, Vorstius, and others. are thought to have exceeded, sometimes, the proper bounds, in referring to the Hebrew idiom, what was pure Greek, and had been employed by competent authorities. Notwithstanding this, the subject is, in the estimation of the most learned men, not yet exhausted ;\* and many things still remain, which are explained from the Greek, whose explanation is rather to be sought for from the Hebrew. Even Castellio himself, an eminent Hebrew, Greek, and Latin scholar, who formerly brought upon himself so much odium, by preserving a pure latinity, in expressing the sense of the books of the New Testament, and is thought, even now, to have exceeded, sometimes, the proper limits, in the preservation of this purity, has expressed, nevertheless, in more than one instance, the Greek sense of the words in place of the Hebrew ; and that, too, where neither the novelty of the subject, nor the preservation of the style, nor the nature of the argument, demanded it ; as in the words κόσμος, εἰρήνη, φόβος σαῶν, πνεῦμα, ἐκλογὴ, and numerous others. This thing we believe to have happened, both to him and to others, solely from the long continued practice of reading the ancient Latin translation, and the works written by the older as well as the later theologians. “ *So great is the force of habit,*” says Au-

\* See Werenfels as above cited.

gustine,\* when delivering rules concerning the obscure words and phrases of the sacred writings, "*that those who are nourished. as it were, and educated, in the phraseology of the sacred Scriptures, (he speaks here of the Latin translation,) regard, as more strange, the expressions they meet with elsewhere, and esteem them as less purely Latin, than those which they have learnt from the Scriptures, and which are not to be found in the approved writers of the Latin language.*" This same habit prevents us from easily detecting, in very many words, the existence of a Hebraism, unless we give our closest attention, and come to the business with much experience; nor do we conceive clearly, or, at least, express in Latin terms, what was present to the minds of the inspired writers, and to their first readers, but what was present to the minds of Greeks, unskilled in Hebrew. This gives rise, not unfrequently, to obscurity, or, at least, a profitless ambiguity, as was correctly remarked by Augustine, in the excellent treatise above cited ;†—a consequence, against which the good interpreter should especially guard.

#### XIV.

From this difficulty, we proceed now, in order, to another, and that, too, a very considerable one, which presents itself when the interpreter undertakes to investigate the true force and meaning of words and phrases, of both the above-mentioned classes, viz. the pure Greek and the Hebrew-Greek, by the aid of the usage of speech, the analogy of languages, or other grammatical arts. And, as this method, in all its parts, may be included under the investigation of the usage of speech, which depends upon observations almost innumerable, it is manifest, without further en-

\* De Doctr. Christ. ii. 13, 14.

† De Doctr. Christ. ii. 14.

largement, how great a difficulty is here proposed to all interpreters of ancient books. But our business here is with the interpretation of the New Testament. It is unnecessary to say much, in relation to the expressions which are pure Greek, the understanding of which, is not so very difficult, for him who has obtained a suitable knowledge of that language. Besides, there are not very many things, belonging to this class, that have not been explained and illustrated by the diligent study of interpreters and philologists, provided only we can exercise judgment, and separate the good from the bad. For it is not to be denied, that, among all those who have attempted to throw light upon the books of the New Testament, from the Greek writers, there are very few who are truly excellent in this department—very few who are even comparable with the diligent and judicious Raphelius, among whose observations, however, are many things which I do not approve. The greater number of those who have approached this department, either were not sufficiently learned, or could not, with sufficient discernment, decide what was useful to be understood and what was not; what was consistent with the words of the sacred writers, and what was not; but presented, in their commentaries, every thing that had any possible connexion with any word or form of speech; so that, it has often been my lot, after plodding through entire volumes, even those of Elsner, to perceive that I had met with very few observations which really answered the purpose of illustration, while the remainder were of such a character, that they deserved rather to be thrown together into a lexicon, than to be set forth as interpretations, or as observations calculated to promote the understanding or interpretation of the sacred writers. While engaged in writing this, and consulting, for some reason or other, Wetstein's Various Readings, on 1 Pet. iii. 20., there met my eye, an observation upon the following clause of the pre-

ceding verse, εἰς ἣν (κιβωτὸν) ὀλίγοι ψυχαὶ δεσώσθησαν. The philologist gives us a good long note, in explanation of these words, in which note, he cites a large number of passages, in which the following form occurs :—διασώζεσθαι εἰς τόπον τινα,—all of which are foreign and irrelevant. For, the sense of this phrase is, *to come into some place after being delivered from danger*, whereas, the words of Peter denote, *in which (ark), a very few persons were saved*. Examples, almost innumerable, of this kind, I have noticed in that work, and in others of a similar nature. So that, in this part of the subject, a greater difficulty seems to arise, to the future interpreter, from the misapplied diligence of commentators, than from the language itself of the inspired writers. As there is some advantage expected, too, from the use of the ancient glossaries, a certain degree of difficulty springs from this source also; and, as in the interpretation of all ancient books, so also in that of the New Testament, we have need of many and great cautions, in the use of these glossaries. As enough, however, has been said already, in my "*Essay on the legitimate use of the Greek glossaries, in the interpretation of the New Testament*," it would be out of place to discuss the subject here. But the difficulties attending the investigation of the sense of those words and phrases, which are not pure Greek, whose force and signification should be sought, generally, from the Hebrew, are both greater and more numerous.

## XV.

The most obvious method of thus investigating the sense, and the first, also, in importance, is that which employs the diligent comparison of the Greek version of the Old Testament, which we denominate the *Alexandrian*. For, we ascertain, generally, by means of this comparison, by what Greek words and phrases, men of the Hebrew nation



and religion, were accustomed to convey the sense of the Hebrew words and phrases, which occur in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Accordingly, the most learned men profess to think, and endeavour to prove, that, from this source, especially, is to be derived a knowledge of the diction employed in the New Testament. And it cannot be denied, that, from the time that the understanding and interpretation of the books of the New Testament, began to be sought from this quarter, very much light was poured upon it. In this respect, Grotius has received a merited share of praise, and, indeed, in this requisite of a good interpreter, he far surpassed all his predecessors. In this method, however, various difficulties present themselves, especially at the commencement; particularly, if any one be but little experienced in such matters, in interpreting and exploring the meaning of words, or approaches with a desire of defending some opinion, or imbued with some preconceived notions. Accordingly, we find that men of the greatest learning have frequently, and, sometimes, shamefully, erred in the application of this method of obtaining the sense. Salmasius\* has shown, by many examples, at which, frequently, we can scarcely restrain our laughter, how repeatedly this was the case with Dan. Heinsius, in his *Exercitationes Sacræ*; as also the competent reader will himself have observed. This Heinsius was a man of eminent learning, but possessed of a harsh and difficult genius, of which all his interpretations savour, exhibiting something or other distorted, which has frequently offended even my eyes while reading. But I have observed that the same things, although more rarely, have happened to those also, who, in other respects, have employed this method aright.

\* De Fœnore Trapezitico p. 805.

## XVI.

Of this thing, many and various causes might be mentioned. One is, that no one has, as yet, explained, with clearness and definiteness, the manner of conducting this comparison, the method of eliciting the significations, the laws to which it is subjected, and the cautions it demands. For, although it must be confessed, that men of extraordinary genius, and of much exercise and experience in the business of interpretation, need not the assistance of rules ; still, those of more moderate gifts, and whose exercise and experience in this business, have necessarily been very limited, stand in very great need of them. In saying this, however, I am well aware, that, in the works of those scholars who have employed this method, particularly in the illustrious work of Gataker against Pfochen, to which special praise is due in this department of study, some observations are met with, exceedingly correct and useful, to which, I cheerfully acknowledge myself to have been indebted for assistance ; but they are still insufficient, and have not yet been collected into one general view, and presented to the public with the necessary additions. For, those who have spoken of the advantages and necessity of that version, for the understanding of the diction of the New Testament,—as Pearson, for example, in his introductory remarks, prefixed to the English edition of the Alexandrian version ; Keuchen, in the Preface to his notes upon the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles ; the late Michaelis, or Henke, in a special Academical essay ; and others, with whom, indeed, I have been acquainted,—have done nothing else than evince, by certain examples, the utility of this comparison. But few, however, possess the ability to reduce examples to the accuracy and subtilty of rules, and collect from them a universal method of proceed-

ing, in relation to this business. Perhaps this may be said to be a common fault of the hermeneutical productions of our times, that they present us with doctrines concerning the nature and signification of words in general, rather than rules for discovering and determining the sense; or else endeavour to disentangle the matter, by means of examples, which, however, afford but little satisfaction, without clear and definite rules. So that, we trust we shall deserve well of those who are devoted to sacred letters, if we can present this subject in a more definite and satisfactory form. This we design to do, in *An Introduction to the Interpretation of the New Testament*, which, with leave of Providence, we purpose to publish.

## XVII.

Another circumstance, which renders this comparison an exceedingly delicate and difficult business, is, *the mode of interpretation* which these Alexandrian translators adopted; *the errors*, also, derived, originally, either from the variety of readings exhibited by their manuscripts, or existing in their own minds, or else from ignorance. Those who have carefully compared the Alexandrian version with the Hebrew original, must be aware, that the translators have frequently expressed, in a vague manner, the meaning of the Hebrew words, satisfied with having furnished, in some sort, the general sense. This circumstance has, again and again, deceived many persons while making this comparison, and studying to ascertain, by this means, the usage of the New Testament. Hence have originated violent and spiritless interpretations, which can, by no means, meet our approbation. Into these interpretations, all are the more prone to fall, in proportion as they are the more desirous of employing this method, and of illustrating the diction of the New Testament,—like the fond huntsman,

who, when unable to hunt wild beasts, set traps for flies. Keuchen has frequently erred, in this respect, and affords us examples, for purposes of illustration. The form כָּנַר בִּיד or כָּנַר, is rendered, by the Septuagint translators, at one time, συγκλείειν ἐν χειρὶ *to shut up in the hand*, and at another, παραδιδόναι εἰς χεῖρας *to deliver into the hands*. What use, then, does the commentator just mentioned, make of this fact? The verb παραδιδόναι, forsooth, in Acts viii. 3., παραδίδου εἰς φυλακὴν, denotes, not only *to deliver*, but also *to shut up*, *to confine*. The phrase מִמְּנוֹת from desolation, Job v. 21., these translators render ἀπὸ κακῶν, employing the general term instead of a more specific one. Accordingly, in the phrase ὅσα κακὰ ἐποίησε τοῖς ἁγίοις, in Acts ix. 13., the word κακὰ denotes *desolation*. In Ps. xliv. 27., חַסְדְּךָ (*thy mercy*) is translated ὄνομα σου, and in Is. xlii. 4. לְתוֹרָתוֹ (*for his law*) is translated ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. What then? The phrase ὄνομα Θεοῦ, forsooth, in Acts ix. 15, 16, xxvi. 9., denotes *the divine benignity and compassion, the worship and service of God, the doctrine proceeding from God, the Gospel*. For the phrase יָמַלְכוּ אֹתוֹ *they made him king*, in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1., we find, in this version, καὶ ἔχρισαν αὐτὸν καὶ κατέστησαν αὐτὸν εἰς βασιλέα *and they anointed him and constituted him king*. From this, our commentator took occasion to furnish a strange comment, upon the words Χριστὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησε, in Acts ii. 36. The word Χριστὸς, says he, denotes *raised to the highest* (that is, *regal*.) *dignity*. He was deceived, however, in this instance, through a neglect to compare the different manuscripts; which comparison clearly proves, that the reading of the passage is doubtful. The Alexandrian manuscript has merely ἔχρισαν αὐτὸν εἰς βασιλέα. The ancient copies seem to have been divided between the two readings ἔχρισαν and κατέστησαν. Hence it came to pass, that both readings came into the text. This kind of reading, which we denominate διττογραφούμενον, is of frequent occurrence, in

ancient books ; and also in this version, in which, a two-fold and different interpretation of an entire verse, is sometimes found. And, I would add, in passing, that many have been strangely deceived, in this matter, from a neglect to examine a variety of examples. The Septuagint translators frequently render **קִעַ** and **בְּקִעַ** by **πεδῖον**. Accordingly, Keuchen would have us believe, that the phrase **εἶπον πεδινὸν**, in Luke vi. 17., denotes *a valley* ; which sense, the phrase admits, indeed, but it is not necessary here ; nor does the mode of rendering of the Septuagint translators, furnish a sufficient argument, since every *valley* may be **πεδῖον**, but it does not therefore follow, that every **πεδῖον** is *a valley*. Let us cite one more example from Eccles. vii. 17., where **בִּלְבָב** is rendered, by these Greek translators, **σκληρὸς**. In this, however, they have erred ; for, the whole context demands the notion of *folly* and *stupidity* ; the clause *neither be thou foolish*, responding to the clause which precedes, *neither make thyself over-wise* ;—unless perhaps, we can suppose **σκληρὸς** to have been written for **μωρὸς**, by a mistake of the transcriber. Our commentator, upon the strength of this passage, concludes, that, in Matth. xxv. 24., where the servant styles his master **σκληρὸν ἄνδρα** *an hard man*, the idea of *folly* also is included. Indeed, this Keuchen, as is manifest from the preface of his work, had a general view of this way of proceeding, but had not learned to be on his guard against the numerous and deceitful by-paths which lead from it ; and, perhaps, his talents were inferior to the task. Very frequent mistakes, of this kind, I have observed also in Heinsius, of whom I have before spoken, and in others.

## XVIII.

And if, in passages that are unexceptionable, and preserve, in the main, the sense of the Hebrew, ignorance of the manner of translation, pursued by these interpreters, mis-



leads and deceives us, what shall we expect, in the case of those passages, in which the interpretation, from whatever cause, departs from the Hebrew original?—which takes place, in very many passages, as every one knows, who is not a mere novice in these matters. And this difficulty is still further augmented by the *Concordances*, as they are styled, of this Greek version; such, for example, as we possess, from the labours of Kircher and Tromm, who profess, also, to have engaged in these labours, for the express purpose of affording assistance, in the use of that version in the interpretation of the New Testament. For, they have acted very unwisely, in introducing, into these *Concordances*, all the errors, before alluded to, of the translators; which should have been either laid aside altogether, or else collected together, and placed apart, by themselves, lest they should mislead those who, for the purposes of information and assistance, might consult these works. This fault is the less excusable in Tromm, inasmuch as he professes, in the preface p. 5., to have passed by, as irrelevant, those expressions which evidently had nothing to do with the Hebrew, but were either mere paraphrases, or clearly established another sense; by which profession, how easily may those be ensnared, who are less exercised and experienced, since innumerable such objectionable things are, nevertheless, found in his work; for example, under the word ἀδίκως, בְּלִי לְבוֹשׁ צְדִיק תַּמִּים; under τὸ ἄδικον, דָּבָר (the passage in Gen. xix. 8. should have been translated *you shall do nothing at all to these men*, but the Septuagint translators, following the sense, have rendered it μὴ ποιήσητε ἄδικον *do no injustice*); under ματαίως, לֶחֶי; whereas, the Greek word answers to the Hebrew one, in place, merely, and not in sense; and the translator had, doubtless, before him, a different Hebrew word, either in some manuscript, or in his own mind, or wished to present the sense merely; or else the transcriber

himself added it for the purpose of explanation, from other passages of the Psalms,\* or from a note in the margin. I have noticed, moreover, that some very learned men, whom it is unnecessary to name, have been led astray by such and other errors of the Concordance of Kircher, by the errors, for example, of the Frankfurdt Edition.

### XIX.

I have noticed, also, that some excellent men have been, at times, disconcerted, by the want of uniformity in the mode of interpretation. The inconsistency of these translators betrays itself in this, that, in some instances, they have given the force of the Hebrew, by means of expressions purely Greek, while in others, they have adopted a literal translation, that is, they have employed such Greek expressions as seemed directly and formally to correspond with those of the original Hebrew; for example, as the Greek word *δικαιοσύνη* was that which, in a general sense, corresponded with the Hebrew word *צִדְקָה*, these translators employed the Greek term in passages where the Hebrew term was used in a different sense;—concerning which two-fold mode of interpretation, we have already spoken, in our remarks upon *The difficulties attending the right interpretation of the New Testament*. It is no easy matter, for most persons, to distinguish, critically, these two modes of interpretation. Hence, they adopt the Greek sense of the word *δικαιοσύνη*, for example, in passages where the Hebrew sense viz. *benignity, kindness*, was demanded. So that, according to the difficulty attending the comparison of this version, for the better understanding of the diction of the New Testament, will be the

\* This word *לֶחִי* a *cheek-bone*, occurs in Ps. iii. 8., where the Septuagint version exhibits *ματωμας*. (Tr.)

number and nature of the mistakes, occasioned, sometimes, in the interpretation of the New Testament, by that mode of handling this Greek word. I feel disposed to adduce another example, in which, however, there is no trace of the Hebrew usage, with the hope that I may be enabled to throw some light upon a remarkable passage. The words in 1 Cor. xv. 55. ποῦ σου, θάνατε, το κέντρον ; ποῦ σου, αἰδή, το νῆκος ; which are taken from Hos. xiii. 14., have strangely perplexed interpreters, because they have not, with sufficient accuracy, compared them with the Hebrew usage, in connexion with the Greek usage of the Alexandrian translators. I shall confine my remarks to the word κέντρον alone, which, from the usage of the pure Greek, is commonly rendered *sting* ; whereas, from the usage of the Alexandrian translators, it should have been rendered *pestilence, destruction*. For, it answers, in Hosea, to the word קִטְרָה, which has this force. And, in the same Prophet v. 12., the same word answers to קִרְבָּה, which, properly, denotes *rotteness* ; where the context clearly evinces, that it is spoken of *a wasting, incurable disease*, and is therefore, in that passage, spoken of *a pestilence*, or some such thing. Moreover, to κέντρον in vs. 12., answers ὄδυνῃ, in the verse immediately following, where we find, in the Hebrew, קִרְבָּה *a mattery and incurable wound or sore*. The word קִטְרָה is elsewhere Deut. xxxii. 24. rendered *an incurable disease*, which translation is adopted by the Vulgate also, in Hosea, at the word κέντρον. Again, in Acts xv 2., we find the words στάσις and συζητήσεις conjointly. The Septuagint translators might here have afforded assistance, who, sometimes, express the Hebrew רִיב by στάσις. But, so long as the word was received in a pure Greek sense, it availed nothing. Accordingly, the manuscript of Beza, and the Vulgate version, evidently omit the latter part of the clause καὶ συζητήσεως, because *disputation* was supposed not to consist with *sedition*. Had the word

σπάσις, however, been received in a Hebrew sense, for *altercation*, the whole difficulty would have vanished.

## XX.

Indeed, in availing ourselves of this comparison, there is, after all, but one method,—a very direct and obvious one, but demanding numerous auxiliaries. It is not, however, allowable, to investigate, by this method, every thing which cannot be explained from the pure Greek. Accordingly, the Jewish books, especially the more ancient and approved, began to be employed, with the design of collecting out of them, whatever might answer the purposes of illustration. But, the very distinguished scholars who have laboured in this department, at the head of whom stand, undoubtedly, Lightfoot and Schoetgen, while collecting together every thing, indiscriminately, have perplexed the business. And, indeed, it is not every one, at random, who can engage, with success, in this selection. The Oriental versions, also, have been consulted, for this same purpose,—by Louis de Dieu, for example, in his *Critica Sacra*, and by others. How difficult this comparison of the versions is, the nature of the thing itself, and the disagreement of the learned, sufficiently evince. In the works of the more ancient Greek Fathers, also, we find some things, scattered here and there, which furnish the illustrations we seek ; of which kind, the learned Grotius, who was accomplished in all the arts of interpretation, has interspersed examples throughout his commentaries. For, during those early ages of the Church, while, as yet, the books of the New Testament were generally understood, certain forms of speech and the manner of using certain words, which prevailed in these books, came into vogue with others also, and were adopted by writers, and sometimes, too, in such a connexion, that the true sense may be elicited:

We have noticed, in the course of our reading, some instances of this kind, in Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Hippolytus, Theophylus, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, and others. Let us be contented with one example. Peter, in his second Epistle iii. 10. 12., speaks of the στοιχεῖα as about to melt away with fervent heat, at the consummation of all things. This word, in obedience to the lexicon, was translated *elementa*, *elements*. Grotius explains the word, as denoting, more definitely and specifically, *the stars* and *water*. Calovius, however, demands, by what arguments it can be shown, that στοιχεῖα denotes *the stars*.

would not, indeed, venture to decide, whether Grotius was led, by conjecture, to adopt this interpretation, out of regard, to wit, to the context and the nature of things, or whether he was induced to do so, by a regard to the usage of speech;—which latter supposition, however, I deem the more probable. These great men have enough to do, to communicate what they perceive to be right and true, without accompanying this communication with a citation of authorities and testimonies. There are, however, passages, which have, since his time, been cited by others, which I, also, myself, have frequently noticed, from which it is manifest, that the word στοιχεῖα was formerly spoken of *the stars*; and this use of the word was derived, undoubtedly, from the above-mentioned passage of Peter. Both Chrysostom and Theophylact, when commenting upon Gal. iv. 3. and Col. ii. 8., regard, as I am well aware, the phrase στοιχεῖα κόσμου, as denoting *the stars*, but this is not the meaning in those passages. Justin the Martyr, employs the phrases οὐράνια στοιχεῖα\* and τὰ στοιχεῖα οὐκ ἄγγει, &c.† But, in these and in other passages, interpreters have translated unskilfully. In Theophylact‡

\* Apoll. ii. p. ii.

† Dial. p. 211.

‡ Ad. Autol. i. p. 22.



we find these words στοιχεῖα θεοῦ εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτοὺς γεγονότα, and shortly after, the sun is styled ἐλάχιστον στοιχεῖον; and elsewhere, are passages of a similar import. Eusebius,\* also, denominates illustrious Doctors of the Church, στοιχεῖα μεγάλα. Jerome† cites a similar passage of Eusebius in his *Polycrates*, and employs, in the same sense, the word *elementa*, following the usage of the Latin version of the New Testament, which mode of proceeding, the late Fabricius, in his notes on the passage, regards with disapprobation. Others, who were unacquainted with this usage, and with the ecclesiastical latinity, were disposed to find here the *elements* spoken of in the schools of philosophy. Various reasons are given by Fabricius and Valesius, why *the stars* were called στοιχεῖα; with whose opinions, however, I am not satisfied. Why may we not suppose, that Peter had in mind, in writing this passage, the words which occur in 2 Sam. xxii. 8. מוֹקְדוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם which I understand of *the heavens* themselves, and the οὐράνια στοιχεῖα or *stars*, and not of *the earth* and *the mountains*, with the Vulgate, nor of *the air*, with Cocceius, which last sense, the connected idea of *shaking* does not seem to favour. The word מוֹקְדוֹת denotes, in my opinion, *those things by which any thing consists, the essential constituents of any thing*. The מוֹקְדֵי אֶרֶץ which God is said to have appointed, Prov. viii. 29., are *the constituent parts of the earth, of which it consists*; and in Ps lxxxii. 5., the מוֹקְדֵי אֶרֶץ are said to be *out of course*, that is, *those things, upon which the existence and safety of the state essentially depended, were unsettled*. The Jewish teachers, also, denote *the elements* of the schools, and *the first principles of things*, by means of words, de-

\* Histor. Eccles. iii. 31. (on which passage consult Valesius) and v. 24.

† De Virr. Illustr. c. 45.

rived from the same root as the word just cited ; for example, קִסַּר and קָרַר from the root קָרַר. But, in reference to such observations in general, there is need of much and attentive reading of the Fathers. They are not such as to meet, at once, the eye of the negligent reader,—one who has not his eyes and mind intent on every thing. How few, indeed, at the present day, have any desire to peruse the Fathers, especially for the sake of a better understanding of the sacred books !

## XXI.

Among the methods of investigating the signification of words and of forms of speech, I am accustomed earnestly to recommend, and freely to employ, in the business of interpretation, *the analogy of languages* ; in relation to which, although no rules, as far, at least, as I am acquainted, have been given, still, examples of its use, by distinguished interpreters of divine and human books, are extant. It employs, in regard to those words and constructions which either are in themselves doubtful and ambiguous, or, through the mistakes and ignorance of interpreters, and the perverseness of human opinions, have contracted a degree of ambiguity and obscurity, a comparison, in the first place, of similar forms, in the same language ; then in languages which have a mutual resemblance, and are, as it were, cognate ; and finally, in the other languages. In every language, the same thought is expressed in a variety of ways, both in detached words,—especially those by which the attributes of things, actions, and the like, are designated,—and also in forms of speech. Although there is not, in these kindred modes of expression, a perfect tautology, still, the diversity of meaning is so slight, that scarcely any account is made of it, and it is of no importance in relation to the main point. It is obvious, therefore,

to all, that the comparison of such examples, proffers much assistance to the interpreter, when expressions, ambiguous in themselves or from their collocation, are compared with others, which are clear and certain; and when passages of authors are compared with one another, in which, as the subject itself and the rest of the discourse evince, the same thing is done, or the same thing is said, in other words, or in other forms of speech. There are, besides, certain classes, as it were, of words, by means of which, not the same things, indeed, are denoted, but similar modes of being and of acting. It behoves us to have these classes distinctly marked, and particularly, if any doubt occurs in regard to any word, to refer it to the form of its own class, lest we should attach to a word a false, inapposite, violent, or absurd sense, as has frequently been the case in the Greek language, in words compounded of the prepositions ἀνά, σὺν, πρὸ, περὶ, ἐκ, &c. ; or lest we fall into an inconsistency, by adopting, in similar classes, a different mode of interpretation; in which respect, even good interpreters often err. Of this kind, are many things in every language. It becomes our duty, therefore, sometimes, in interpreting, to examine words and investigate their meaning, by means of this *analogy*, for the purpose of discovering the true sense, or of illustrating and confirming it.

## XXII.

But, the analogy which subsists between different languages, and their mutual comparison, affords, as I have said, assistance in interpretation. For, a view of the thing itself, and experience, have led me to believe, that no one can be employed, with eminent skill and success, in any ancient language, differing widely from his own vernacular tongue, unless he shall have added a competent knowledge of one and another ancient language. The reason why, as

it seems to me, so very few have attained, at any time, to a tolerable acquaintance with the Hebrew, for example, or have engaged, with unequivocal success, in the business of interpretation, is simply this, that the greater number have either entirely neglected, or have glanced at, in a superficial manner, not only its kindred dialects, but also Greek and Latin letters. For, these persons depend entirely upon their dictionaries, and are wont to compare the Hebrew, a scanty knowledge of which they have obtained from this source, with their vernacular tongue, and hence give birth to wonderful interpretations, and especially to unnatural emphases. Cocceius, as is manifest from his commentaries, and even from the brief notes, introduced, from his work, into the edition of Josephus by Havercamp; and Schultens, who lately stood first in the department of oriental literature, were eminently skilled in Greek letters. We drop this remark, however, in passing, for the purpose of admonishing the young. I have elsewhere\* shown, that the phrase סֹר מִבֵּין רַגְלִים is clearly understood, when we compare it with the Greek phrase ἐκ ποδῶν γεγονέναι or ἀπέναι, of whose meaning no one entertains a doubt, and with the Latin *e medio discedere*. What is meant by the term πύργος, in Matth. xxi. 33., different from what is conveyed by the corresponding term in our vernacular tongue, will be clearly seen by any one, who may have compared it with the Latin *turris* in Livy xxxiii. 48., although it might be understood, also, from Lucian, who, in his *Pseudologista* c. 19., numbers the πύργιον among the κτήματα *possessions*. In regard to the word πεπραμένος, in Rom. vii. 18., the adversary would be silent, and the doubting, confirmed, if it were compared with the Latin *addictus*, which is properly spoken of him who is sold to another, whether by his own act or that of another, and then of one who

\* De Vestigiis Hebr. Linguae in Ling. Graeca.

is obnoxious to another, from whatever cause, so that he is harassed by him. The difficulty, however, in regard to this word, might also have been relieved by a comparison of the Hebrew. What is meant by the phrase *ὡς διὰ πυρός*, will be obvious by comparing it with the Latin *ambustus*, which is frequently met with in Cicero, in a similar connexion. Words and phrases of this kind, are found, in great numbers, in the languages, and admit of being clearly understood and satisfactorily illustrated, by such a comparison; and I have noticed, also, that Schultens has employed this method, with eminent success, in illustrating the Hebrew expressions, in his admirable commentaries on Job, and on the Proverbs, and elsewhere.

### XXIII.

So far, we have seen that the method of investigation receives assistance from the resemblance of words and of tropes. There is still, however, another method, more subtle, indeed, but necessary, sometimes, and exceedingly useful,—especially when other methods fail to conduct us to the sense. It cannot be doubted, that many things, whatever may be their character, may affect the minds of men in the same manner, so as to lead them to think, and judge, and act alike,—as we see to be the fact in the daily affairs of ordinary life. But, in expressing these, they are wont to differ, not merely in style, which might naturally be expected, but in the expressions they employ, so as to use words and forms of speech which have but little correspondence with one another. So that, if any one should attempt to express them, literally, in another language, he would suppose that things entirely different were indicated. That this frequently happens, may be seen even from what I have before said. In such a case, there cannot remain a doubt, that the interpreter may be greatly assisted, if, when some obscurity



or ambiguity arises, owing to too great a difference from our vernacular idiom, we examine what the authors in other languages have said concerning those same things and times, in order that, if these last speak more plainly, or more consistently with our vernacular language, we may hence understand and explain the things which are more obscure. There are very many things in the Greek, which have been understood, in this manner, by a comparison with the Latin, and *vice versa*; and not a few among the Hebraisms, have been understood by such a comparison with the Greek, or the Latin, or some other language. And this comparison can no where be more advantageous, in my opinion, than in the oriental languages, and in the Greek, particularly so far as it resembles the Hebrew; because, the manner in which these express their thoughts, differs widely from that which the people use who are found nearer to the West and the North. This latter mode of comparison, however, as well as those before-mentioned, requires much circumspection and judgment, together with much reading and exercise, in order that fit subjects of comparison may be at hand, lest we be deceived by some trivial resemblance, or compare things entirely dissimilar, and thus wander from the true sense.

## XXIV.

So far, we have attempted to show how numerous and how great difficulties present themselves, in the investigation of the sense of words, by means of observations on the usage of speech. It now devolves on us, in pursuance of our plan, to speak of *grammatical rules*, properly so called; although these rules are, also, themselves, founded upon observations, drawn from the usage of speech. Hence we become acquainted with the force and use of the tenses, moods, inflexions, articles and particles; and then the con-

nexions of words, and the forms of speech. Without this, neither the judgment, pertaining to the various readings, of which I have treated above, can be exercised ; nor the pure Greek be distinguished from that which is tinged with the Hebrew idiom ; nor the sense be satisfactorily investigated ; because, an interpretation which is repugnant to these precepts of Grammarians, can, by no means, be approved as true. The number, however, of these precepts and observations is so great, that it becomes a very difficult matter to form an acquaintance with them all ; and a still more difficult thing, to have them always at hand, so that they may suggest themselves, readily, in our reading and interpreting, and remind us of what demands attention and judgment. And this requires a great amount of exercise and much practice ; especially, when we consider, that the most of them are minute, and are occupied about little matters, about syllables, and, we might almost say, about single letters, and are easily forgotten, and escape us, at the very time when we most need their presence,—when we are caught by the novelty of the interpretation of another, or are charmed by the deceitful flattery of our own. Accordingly, great and eminent scholars have, not unfrequently, been deceived, in this particular. We shall present a few examples, that the student may be reminded of the imbecility of man, and learn to be on his guard. Erasmus was the first to explore that noble passage in Rom. ix. 5., —a powerful passage, also, for asserting the divinity of Christ. The same thing happened to him, in this case, which happens, ordinarily, to all those who undertake to refine in things plain and easy, whether it proceed from a certain captiousness of spirit or from some other cause. In his opinion, if Paul had designed to convey the meaning commonly received, he would have said *ὅς ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* for *ὅς ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* ; which mode of expression, as he himself, indeed, was well aware, contradicts the first

principles of grammar, and that universal precept, which teaches, that when the finite verb is converted into a participle, the relative *ὅς* is always changed into the article *ὁ*. We can say *μακάριος ὅς τηρεῖ πάντα ταῦτα*; but, when the change above-mentioned takes place, we must say *μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν* and not *ὅς τηρῶν*. But I have elsewhere\* said enough concerning this passage, in opposition to the views both of this scholar and of Wetstein. In the passage 1 Cor. v. 12. *οὐχὶ τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε*; the Syriac translator received the word *κρίνετε* as an imperative mood, in which he was followed by others. Hence it came to pass, that the word *ἐξαρεῖτε*, which occurs in the sequel, was changed, in some copies, into the imperative *ἐξαιρετε* or *ἐξάρατε*; although, it must be conceded, this reading may have been derived, originally, from the Latin version. In this instance, the translator did not recollect, that the particle *οὐχὶ* does not admit such a construction, inasmuch as it has a negative force, either simply, as in v. 2., or with an interrogation. In the same manner, also, our countryman G. Olearius, who certainly understood these matters, has erred, in translating the words of our Saviour in Matth. xxiv. 2. *οὐ βλέπετε πάντα ταῦτα*; which he renders *nolite hæc mirari*; which translation, while it flattered by its congruity with the context and its goodness, did not permit him to recollect, that it required *μὴ βλέπετε* in place of *οὐ βλέπετε*. Heumann,† also, has run into an error of the same kind, in translating *ἔσθε*, in 1 Thess. v. 4., as an imperative. In the Epistle to the Corinthians above cited, x. 30., in the phrase *εἰ ἐγὼ χάριτι μετέχω, τί βλασφημοῦμαι, ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εὐχαριστῶ*; some eminently learned men have connected *χάριτι* with *μετέχω* in the construction, and translate the clause thus; *if I am a partaker of grace,—of the divine goodness*; differing wide-

\* Acta Erudit. for the year 1754.

† Progr. Pasch. for the year 1756.

ly from Grotius, L. Bos, and J. Alberti,\* who understand the word χάριτι to denote, absolutely, *by grace,—through the goodness of God.* But, in the former construction, those learned men forgot that the form would necessarily be μετέχω χάριτος. In Acts iii. 21., the words ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι are considered, by some men of learning, as having reference to the celestial kingdom, obtained by Christ, on his ascension into the heavens; which sense, to say nothing of other difficulties, would demand, according to the rules of grammar, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι, as in the passage in Luke xxiv. 26., ταῦτα δεῖ παθεῖν τὸν χριστόν. Again, in Acts vii. 14., in the words ἐν ψυχῇς ἐβδόμηκοντα πέντε, Corn. Bertram, desirous of conforming the number here specified to the reading of the Hebrew copy, conjectured that πάντες should be read for πέντε. He had in his mind the elegant classical Greek form, in which, πᾶς is subjoined to a word denoting number, in order that a definite number may be understood; as in the following passage of Callimachus; πέντε' ἔσαν αἱ πᾶσαι *there were five in all.* Theod. Beza, a scholar eminently skilled in Greek letters, approved this emendation and our countryman Glasst† deemed it well worthy of regard, adding, “*where the thing itself appears to be so clear, and the correction drawn from the Hebrew original of the Old Testament is so obvious, who would be so superstitiously cautious, as to apprehend, that, from this one or another such error, the integrity or authority of the entire reading of the New Testament is destroyed?*” In truth, the proposed emendation ought to be rejected as useless, because it stands in opposition to the most common rules of Grammar, which require the form ἐν ψυχῇς ἐβδόμηκοντα πάσας; and this departs still further from the common reading. And, indeed, there is nothing

\* Glossar. Gr. in N. T.

† Philol. Sacr. Lib. i. Tr. ii. n. 10

which I have more frequently noticed than this fact, that the most erudite scholars are, occasionally, misled by some nice and ingenious observation ; and, whilst they are endeavouring, by means of it, to correct or explain something, they offend, grievously, against the best established rules. It is easy, then, to see, how great is the difficulty which presents itself, both in learning and in applying this method. We stand in need, particularly, of much and accurate exercise, in diligently examining whatever we may read, by these grammatical rules, and in ascertaining what they demand, and what, in consistency with them, we may conclude in relation to the sense of the words.

## XXV.

Among the offices of a good interpreter, I specified also *the careful discrimination between proper and tropical diction*. This discrimination has, as is manifest, been rendered especially necessary, by certain controversies about the Lord's Supper, about the Character of Christ, &c. In other writings, a doubt or a controversy of this kind, rarely occurs. So that, among the numerous commentaries and books of observations, and of various readings, which have come into my hands, I do not recollect to have met with any thing on the subject of this discrimination between tropical and proper diction. The matter is judged of, here, by common sense, which is deemed entirely competent. It would suffice in the sacred writings also, if we read and examined them with the same unbiassed judgment. Other writings are approached with minds free from præconceived opinions, while the majority of those who approach the sacred records, come with minds prepossessed, beforehand, in regard to what they ought to seek and find in them. It is not surprising, therefore, that tropes also are sought for and found where none exist, and where the sound and unpreju-



liced reader,—who is prepared to receive whatever he may find, and regards and follows nothing but the usage of speech, and the spirit of the language,—never once dreams of a trope. But, as in other matters, the more difficult things more easily admit an explanation, than those which are very easy and simple ;—inasmuch as, in these, we are under the necessity of searching for the thing to be explained, whereas, in those, the matter and things to be explained, readily suggest themselves,—so also, this matter, of which we are treating, otherwise easy and simple, is rendered perplexed and difficult by this very facility itself. There was need of rules, which would furnish us with indubitable marks, by whose presence the genuine tropes might be recognised, and by whose absence the false tropes might be detected. The rules, however, pertaining to this department, which are met with in hermeneutical treatises, will be found, by the accurate student, to be too indefinite. Take, for example, the following: *we ought not readily (non facile) to depart from the proper sense of words*: of which precept, at the present day, amid so much knowledge, every one should be ashamed, who wishes to be numbered among the learned. For, this injunction—a very ancient and correct one, undoubtedly,—has regard, not to tropes but to allegories ; and the *proper sense*, here spoken of, is that which, at the present day, is denominated the *literal*. How very ambiguous and indefinite, also, is the phrase *non facile*!\* If it be understood in the sense of *very rarely*, in accordance with the usage of the Latin language, the precept will be found to be false, for there is scarcely a page in the sacred

\* J. F. Gronovius, in his note upon Tacit. Ann. I. 72. cites the following words of a jurist: *nec lubricum linguae ad panam facile trahendum est* ; upon which he remarks: “but the ambiguity is in the phrase *non facile*.”

writings, in which instances of tropical diction do not occur ; and Glass has filled a considerable portion of his work with examples of figurative expressions. Nor is the exposition of Danhauer,\* Tarnow,† and others, a more satisfactory one, who understand the precept as enjoining, that a trope is not to be admitted *without an obvious reason and necessity*. For, the precept is still unfit for use, inasmuch as no certain marks of an obvious reason and necessity are furnished, certainly not from nature, and the analogy of languages, which was especially to be regarded.‡ Calovius§ has treated this subject with more accuracy and subtilty ; more like a metaphysician, however, and logician, than a grammarian. It is not surprising, therefore, if the student meets with considerable difficulty, in the discussions concerning tropical and figurative expressions in the language of the inspired writers. Nor is it to be wondered at, that, sometimes, if not in those passages whose acceptation is settled in the systems of doctrine, at least, in others, where the judgment is left free, he should suffer himself to be im-

\* Idea Boni Interpretis p. 35. Hermeneut. Sacr. p. 259.

† Exercitt. Biblic.

‡ Turretin (*De Interpret. S. S.* p. 201.), teaching how *tropical* diction may be distinguished from *proper*, recommends attention to the nature of the subject. “ *If the thing,*” says he, “ *understood according to the literal sense, seems to be impossible, the expression ought, in that case, to be regarded as figurative* ” In the first place, we may remark that this *seems* is ambiguous and fallacious ; and, in the next place, it is a matter of investigation and dispute whether the thing be impossible or not. He adds further ; “ *we are to decide in the same manner, when any thing is commanded which seems cruel and impious,*” and makes an application of this to the Eucharist. Again he introduces this indefinite phrase *seems*. Besides, if Abraham had wished to conform to this rule, he certainly ought to have understood the command of God, concerning the sacrifice of his son, in a figurative sense.

§ De Persona Christi. p. 547.

posed upon by those who inconsiderately introduce tropes and figures. The rule—so he styles it,—which Le Clerc furnishes, is altogether useless ; *the proper sense is not to be confounded with the metaphorical*. The examples, which he cites, are still more futile, and quite unnecessary in a thing which every boy is acquainted with, and has never been called in question by any one.

## XXVI.

A still greater difficulty presents itself in relation to *emphases*. For, this part also of the general subject, has never been sufficiently defined, and illustrated by means of precise rules, which might assist and direct the inquiring mind, in exploring and estimating the emphatic expressions. The treatises on interpretation, now in circulation, contain scarcely any thing beyond what is comprised in such rules as the following : *genuine emphases are not to be rejected : false emphases are not to be admitted* : which canons are wont to be illustrated, in the schools, solely by examples, as they may appear to each one to be genuine or false. No one, indeed, questions the correctness of these precepts ; nor does any one approve an emphasis which he supposes to be unsound, or not entirely consistent with truth. For, who is there that does not regard his own views and conclusions on this subject, as the best ? We needed rather to have been taught what are the infallible marks of a true emphasis, on the discovery of which, it may be understood that an expression is really emphatic. This instruction must be in keeping with the usage of speech of good writers, and enable us to decide, in what passages, and in what manner, in every language, the use of emphases obtains. Finally, the minds of the learners are to be exercised, by suitable examples, in reference to this faculty of judging. This is the more necessary, the more prone

the weaker sort—those unskilled in the languages, and less exercised in interpretation,—are to create emphases from etymologies, from prepositions, from tropes of every kind, or, as Erasmus remarks, on 1 Cor. vi. 1., to trifle in serious matters. I have known some eminently learned men to trifle egregiously in interpreting human writings, both Greek and Latin, by doing violence to words in the matter of emphases. What can we expect, then, in the case of the inspired writings, in which the reverence itself which they deservedly command, can easily persuade us, that more is meant by the words than the Holy Spirit designed to convey? The Jews, as we well know, were, in this manner, in former times, deceived; and, in the last century, Cocceius also, and his emulators, who were resolved to render the sacred books, because they were divine, as significant as possible. In a certain sense, this was right; that is, with the understanding, *as much as possible, in consistency with the genius of the language, and the usage of speech*; but those persons, having adopted the principle without any limitation or modification, discovered every where in the words, not only emphases, but also allegories, and prophecies, no one of which had ever entered into the minds of the inspired writers. This mode of proceeding was deservedly censured by learned and pious theologians, who thought that the Scriptures were rather trifled with, than honoured, by this treatment. The language, also, of the inspired writers, so far as it conforms to the Hebrew usage, may easily mislead the unwary, and such as are not sufficiently skilled and exercised in the legitimate method; because, the Hebrew idiom differs widely, in many respects, from the genius and idiom of our own and also of the Latin language. Accordingly, those who compare the Hebrew forms of speech which occur in the New Testament, with those of the Latin or of their vernacular tongue, under the guidance of the common dictionaries, without considering the spirit of the Hebrew language, are easily deceived by

empty notions of emphases, of which the divine oracles stand in no need : for example, where the *abstract* is placed for the *concrete*,—a mode of expression common in the Hebrew ; where tropes occur, and where numbers are specified. Le Clerc, in his work which he is pleased to style “*Ars Critica*,” sets forth the following *rule*, as he calls it (although it is any thing but a *rule*, which may assist us in understanding or judging in these matters) : *many things seem to be emphatic in the versions, which, in the originals themselves, are devoid of emphasis* ; and, having cited examples illustrative, as he supposes, of this position, of which examples it does not become me now to speak, he then presents, at the close §. 15., the following canon : *although the words of the ancient writers should seem to be emphatic, still, it is sufficient to interpret them in a plainer and weaker sense, provided, by pressing it, we involve ourselves in some absurdity*. If such an absurdity really follows, I acknowledge the rule to be sound and true. But the canon is, correctly speaking, applicable to but one example of all which he has cited, viz. the one from Exod. iv. 21 , and that, too, is an instance rather of a tropical diction, than of an emphasis. And what becomes of all the other false emphases ? For it is by no means true, that all of them embrace an absurdity. They present, more frequently, a probable sense, adapted to the popular harangue, employed in exhorting, terrifying, and admonishing ;—pious emphases, we may call them, but still inaccurate. What shall we say of an eminent critic, disciplined in the school of logical subtilty ? What kind of rules does he furnish for the ascertaining and judging of good and legitimate emphases ? Is it really less censurable to diminish, in his zeal for rejecting false emphases, the real force of the divinely inspired writers ? His critical acumen seems to fail him here. Nay, he convinces us, by many examples, that he could not see and judge, with acuteness, in this matter of *emphasis*. He denies, for ex-



ample, that the words of Christ in Matth. vi. *μὴ μεριμνήσητε*, were spoken with emphasis, as those would have us suppose, who assert that the perfect Christian ought to part with all his possessions, and be fed from the tables of others. But these short sighted persons did not discern and understand the emphasis in these words. They thought simply of *care*, when they ought to have understood *anxious, solicitous, assiduous care*. But, even admitting that laws and rules for judging of emphases were furnished, in a written treatise, with diligence and perspicuity, and in a form which adapts itself to use,—which we shall, at some future day. with leave of Providence, attempt to do,—still, much labour would remain. For, this matter demands an accurate knowledge of languages, much and curious reading, together with exercise; and it stands in need of these more than of the subtilty of rules, by which, indeed, the way merely is pointed out. It is one thing, however, to know the way; and another, to arrive, by actually travelling it, at the point at which you aim.

## XXVII.

*The reconciliation of apparent discrepancies*, concerning which it now remains for us to speak, in accordance with the proposed plan, although it very much needs a knowledge of things, demands, also, the aid of Grammar, which, as we have seen, is not very easily procured or applied. For, in the first place, there is much need of that nice and accurate judgment, of which we treated at the commencement, at least so far as not to permit ourselves to be deceived by those who endeavour, by means of conjectures, to settle the matter in regard to the reading. Again, should the discrepancy be of a doctrinal character, although the analogy of the faith affords assistance, still it is by no means sufficient. We ought to have in readiness, also, observations concerning the force of words. derived espec-

ally from the Hebrew usage, between which and the usage of the occidental languages there exists a wide difference, and also from the analog of languages; by which means, the thing is generally satisfactorily composed. In this mode of proceeding, what difficulties occur, has been stated above. When the discrepancy is of a historical character, inasmuch as the names of persons, of places, and of times, and also numbers, attributes, and predicates, differ, the usage of historians should be ascertained, in respect of the variety of narration without a real disagreement, and also in respect of the manner of speaking which they frequently employ, agreeably to the nature of their plan, and not reducible to extreme accuracy and precision. In such comparisons, we should endeavour to ascertain, which one of two passages should be accommodated to the other; of which one of two historians the narrative should be accommodated to that of the other. The former is an acquisition beyond the reach of any one, who has not been much and accurately employed, in the reading and comparison of the historians; the latter demands a judgment corrected by a familiarity with many examples, and exercise regulated in conformity with them. It is likewise profitable to have read the commentaries and remarks of critics, in which they have succeeded in reconciling apparently discrepant passages in ancient historians, by means of those observations which I have alluded to, concerning the manner of narrating and of speaking. But all are undoubtedly aware, how much labour, study, care, and judgment these things demand; nor will any one hesitate to acknowledge, that this portion of grammatical interpretation is by far the most difficult.

## XXVIII.

We have now brought to a close, the discussion concerning the difficulties attending the successful interpretation of

the New Testament. This discussion was undertaken, solely with the design of eradicating from the minds of the young, who betake themselves to the study of theology, the notion,—prejudicial to the interests of theology itself, and, especially, to the study of the languages,—that a very moderate, and, indeed, scarcely any knowledge of the languages, particularly of the Greek, is requisite to enable us to understand thoroughly, and interpret successfully, the books of the New Testament. This notion has operated, also, to exclude the majority from the opportunities of attaining to this ability. We indulged the hope, moreover, that we might whet and incite the minds of the young, to a desire of cultivating a familiarity, both with useful letters, and with the inspired books. Nothing sooner renders complicated and difficult, even those things which are in themselves easy, than a notion of their easiness; much more is this the fact, in regard to such as present many and weighty difficulties. For, it begets negligence and sloth, which forbid any attainments in a noble pursuit. Indeed, if any thing deserves the most vigorous efforts of the mind, it is, certainly, the inspired volume, to the correct and profound understanding of which, it becomes Christians to devote their study and care,—those Christians, especially, who profess to be disciples and followers of Luther, whose theological information was manifestly derived from that familiarity with sacred things, for which he was indebted to the study of the languages. We see how much care and labour are bestowed, in accurately understanding and interpreting the other authors, both Greek and Latin, by those who profess to be interpreters of them; how carefully, also, they examine, not only every thing and every word, but even single letters, in order that nothing may be left unscrutinized and unexplored. And does it not become those, who aim to become the professed interpreters of the sacred writings, to bestow upon them

an equal and even a greater amount of study and diligence ? We are just now preparing our minds for the celebration of the memory of the Imperial Peace, by means of which, that most delightful and precious blessing, Religious Liberty, was either obtained or secured to us. We do not mean, by this, a licentiousness in the treatment of divine things. This deserves, on the contrary, any name but that most attractive one of *Liberty*. As civil liberty is entirely subjected to laws, on the removal of which, either licentiousness or slavery is the consequence ; so this liberty in sacred matters, is discerned in this, that we are not constrained to form our opinions of divine things, from the arbitrary will and command of any one, but we may listen to the voice of the inspired volume alone, as to that of an only and most authoritative law, and render obedience to it. Those, therefore, who profess to be the friends and defenders of this liberty, ought to embrace and observe this law, and to occupy themselves with it, to examine it, and meditate upon it, by night and by day. And this liberty cannot even be maintained, without that desire and diligence, of which I have spoken, in understanding the inspired books, by the assistance of useful learning. It was this that formerly prepared the way for seeking and obtaining religious liberty ; and should this be again withdrawn or despised, liberty will also be withdrawn and perish ; and that barbarism will again return, which once invaded sacred letters and the minds of men, and subjected the whole church to the domination of Rome. Ye, then, who love our religion ; ye, especially, who are devoted to theology, to whom is entrusted the guardianship and defence of this religious liberty, guard, I beseech you, against such a consequence, and consult for the accurate study of all useful letters, and of the inspired writings, for the purity and liberty of sacred things, and also for your own praise and glory, to which, in this department of study, there is no other way of access, than the one I have recommended.

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**ON ORIGEN,**  
THE FATHER OF THE GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION  
OF  
**The Scriptures.**

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## On Origen,

### THE FATHER OF THE GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

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#### I.

THE merits of Origen—a man who stands conspicuous amongst a few,—have been, in every age, a subject of controversy. Some have not known how to set bounds to their admiration, and others, to their censures. In regard, however, to his method of proceeding and his skill, in handling the sacred writings, he is more uniformly and correctly praised. Jerome, with whom no one, in the Latin Church, can be compared, for learning, and, especially, for sacred learning, and not very friendly to the allegorical method of interpretation, nevertheless, *desired to possess, even with the odium of the name of Origen, his knowledge of the Scriptures.*\* Masius, also, an excellent interpreter, according to the grammatical method, declares that *he knows not whether, from the time of our Saviour, any one has flourished, either superior in talents, or more exercised in sacred letters, than Origen.*† And it would be easy, to adduce, from every age, testimonies of the same favourable character. But this renown is tarnished and almost obliterated, by his fondness for the allegorical mode of interpretation ; in which, beyond a doubt, he exceeded the proper limits, much to the prejudice of di-

\* Questt. sup. Gen.

† In his note upon Joshua i. 2

vine truth. For, as the mind of man, owing to a certain natural feeling of envy toward men of eminence, is more prone to censure than to praise, and discovers, with more acuteness, faults and blemishes, than virtues and excellencies; so also, in this case, the above-mentioned fault of Origen, occupied the attention of most persons, and led them to disregard his excellencies, and his distinguished merits, in the same department. Accordingly, we may see those who have undertaken to write upon the abilities of Origen as an interpreter, dwelling largely and diligently on the allegorical method, but extremely sparing and negligent in regard to the grammatical. We, who are accustomed to search out and praise the virtues of eminent men, rather than to inquire after and censure their faults,—for, this mode of proceeding, both conduces more liberally to the enjoyment of the mind itself, and is more fruitful in the benefits of imitation,—we, therefore, have rather endeavoured to ascertain the merits of Origen, in the grammatical interpretation of the inspired writings. In pursuing this inquiry, we arrived at the conclusion,—which, at the present time, we design to establish,—that Origen was the first to devote his mind, to the treatment of the sacred writings, after the manner of the grammarians; and that, whatsoever advances, in this respect, particularly as it regards the books of the New Testament, were made by the ancient Christian Church, are nearly all to be traced, originally, from Origen. In this discussion, we shall consider, first of all, the arguments which possess a conjectural probability: through which, the minds of our readers may be enabled to approach the other class of arguments, which rest upon the faith of history and facts.

## II.

In the infancy of Christianity, while, as yet, each of the inspired books was recent, or was used only by those of the

same country with their respective authors; while the language, in which they were written, was not yet removed from common use, or much altered, and the original condition of things was not yet changed; there was no need of grammatical interpretation, nor of grammatical or historical commentaries. Interpretation was busied entirely about things, and not about words. This mode of interpretation, moreover, was in vogue, in my opinion, in the most remote ages, before the birth of Christ, among *the prophets*,—men inspired by the Spirit of God,—whose disciples and schools are commemorated in the sacred volume. For, I am induced to believe, that what interpreters, when expounding the passage 2 Kings ii. 2., are wont to consider as the specific duty discharged in these schools of the prophets, was not the only one; but, that the interpretation of the divine oracles, constituted another and a prominent duty. The scope of this interpretation was two-fold. The first, and, indeed, the principal one, was, the understanding of the prophecies concerning the Messiah, and of the figures and types, by which the kingdom of Christ, with its blessings, was shadowed forth. The other was, to enable them to collect and apply every thing that had been said and done, for the purposes of doctrine, instruction, correction, reproof, and consolation; and, also, to expound the law of God, and to apply it, in the cases which, from time to time, presented themselves. For this opinion, I think I have sufficient support. It is abundantly manifest, that the most ancient of the Jews, did refer to Christ, prophecies, which the event has clearly proved to us, did actually pertain to him. If they did not thus refer all the prophecies to Christ, they did so, with the majority, at least, and the more important ones, as has been shown by the most eminent scholars. Now, it appears to me, that these Jews could not, in any manner, have done this, by their own unassisted powers. For, it is very

clear, and approves itself even to common sense, that, in those prophecies, in which there was nothing definite concerning persons, places, and times, the human powers could attain to no certainty; and if any one laboured to interpret them, he could furnish nothing but conjectures,—pious, perhaps, and harmless, but still mere conjectures. So that, it ought not to be a matter of doubt, that the ancient Jews received their views of such prophecies from the prophets themselves;—not from those very prophets who originally pronounced them, as Schoetgen\* thinks, (for this supposition is not necessary,) but, from those, to whomsoever God had granted this faculty of interpretation. For, in the early ages of the Christian church, also, among the miraculous powers conferred of God, was the interpretation of the prophets; and our Saviour himself, the first and the greatest of all prophets, by expounding the prophecies which had long before been delivered concerning himself, rendered them intelligible to the Apostles.† Prudent theologians, indeed, are willing to admit among the number of types, such, alone, as the Holy Spirit designed to be indicative of future things; because, it cannot be determined, with certainty, unless by the judgment of the Holy Spirit himself. Accordingly, they are unwilling to recognise other types, than those which Christ and the Apostles have declared to be such. It is not, however, to be believed, that the ancient Israelites had no certain knowledge of types; nay, consistently with the analogy of the faith, it cannot be doubted, that they were aware, of what thing, the victims, the paschal lamb, the brazen serpent, and others, were types. Hence, in this matter, also, the prophets instructed their disciples. And now, in relation to the other object, which the prophets kept in view, in their

\* Horae Talmud. ii. Praef. § 3.

† Luke xxiv. 27.



interpretations, as we have before stated, I apprehend that no one will even entertain a doubt.

### III.

After the Babylonian captivity, when the gift of prophecy had ceased,—by which, I do not mean to intimate, that there were no prophets at all, but, that they were more rarely met with,—schools were established, which took the place of the prophets, in which schools, the same things were treated of, but indirectly, and from tradition (for, the instructions of the prophets had not been entirely lost), and according to the ability of each one, acquired by reading, thought, and exercise. These schools were denominated בְּתֵי הַמְּדִרָּה *houses of study*. As they here exercised their inventive faculties,—keen, indeed, but neither enlightened from above, nor disciplined by sound philosophy and elegant learning, and much too exuberant,—there arose, besides other corruptions, of which it is unnecessary here to speak particularly, the allegorical mode of interpretation, which, losing sight of the grammatical sense, converted more things into allegories and figures, than was necessary or permitted by the thing itself. Accordingly, the interpretation in vogue among the learned men in those times, was mixed and compounded of sound traditions, those, to wit, which were traceable to a period of antiquity and to the prophets themselves, and of a larger number of things which were supplied by their own invention; not to be despised, indeed, but demanding great judgment in their selection. In regard to those things which we meet with in Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, belonging to the typical and allegorical method, although I would not venture to say, that all of them were derived from the instructions of Gamaliel, and other Jewish teachers, and collected with judgment,—in which respect, he

had been enlightened by the Holy Spirit ; still, we may gather from those things which he has in common with Philo of Alexandria, already noticed by scholars, that certain things were first known by the inspired Apostle, from that source. For, that Philo had been read by Paul, as some suppose, which supposition seems probable to Wetstein also,\* and that those things which he has in common, were drawn from that writer, seems improbable for many reasons, which I shall specify elsewhere. He may have received them from that source ; but, still, they could not be approved by the Holy Spirit, and submitted to Paul, unless they had originally proceeded from Itself, and from those ancient sources of which I have already spoken. Such a mode of interpretation, therefore, was, at the birth of Christ, in vogue among the Jews.

#### IV.

At the time when the books of the Evangelists and of the Apostles were first written, there was, evidently, no need of grammatical interpreters, because the authors employed a language which was familiar to those to whom and for whose sake those books were written ; and those to whom they wrote were, also, in possession of knowledge, derived immediately from the instructions of the Apostles. The things “ *hard to be understood,*” of Paul, and other things in the inspired writings, which Peter† informs us, were “ *wrested*” by “ *the unstable and unlearned,*” were owing to the sublimity and novelty of the subject, rather than to the difficulty of the words. And the phrase ἐν οἷς *in which*, relates, not to the *Epistles*, but to ταῦτα *these things*, concerning which, Peter himself had before spo-

\* Nov. Test. Vol. ii. p. 384.

† 2 Pet. iii. 16.

ken. So that, in those primitive times, no one thought of commentaries, especially of historical and grammatical commentaries, the necessity and desire of which, as in other books, so here also, are occasioned by time, and changes, and the transmission of the books themselves to other nations ; from which causes alone, an obscurity in regard to certain words is wont to arise, without any fault or error of the authors, and we are not permitted to think of any other difficulty in the inspired writings, than what has proceeded from this source. Besides this, there were still living holy men, who proceeded from the school of the Apostles, who could be consulted, in case of doubt or ambiguity. The exposition of *things* was all that remained for them ; and this was resorted to, for the purpose of edification, in meetings for the purposes of religion, and also in books, which explained and illustrated the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, and kept alive and confirmed the faith, by exhorting, provoking, and consoling : which mode of interpretation is employed, at the present day, by masters of schools, by popular preachers, and by the authors of devotional books. In this mode of interpretation, indeed, the use of allegories was always found ; moderate, however, and not calculated to prejudice that mode of interpretation which is properly called grammatical ; until Origen, imbued with Jewish learning and Grecian philosophy, and possessed, himself, of talents, having advanced further, pursued, too far, the allegorical method, and sometimes to the detriment, and, almost, the destruction, of the grammatical sense ; and, in this manner, brought the allegorical method into contempt, not, however, in such a sense, that it was not employed, by those very persons, who, on this pretext, loaded Origen with censures ; by Jerome, for example, Augustine, and others, in commentaries written for the instruction of the people, and in sermons addressed to popular audiences, but still

with greater moderation by those who were more learned and skilful.

## V.

But, after that the inspired writings had contracted some degree of age, and had come, together with the Christian religion, to those who were unacquainted with the Hebrew language, and differed, very much, from the Jews, in their manner of speaking, who did not, ordinarily, understand the Greek words, used in a Hebrew sense; the necessity of grammatical interpretation first began to exist, and learned men, also, began, after the manner of the grammarians, to write commentaries upon the inspired books. That the Greeks led the way in this, cannot be doubted by any one who is well versed in the monuments, of antiquity, and has been correctly observed, also, by the Benedictine monks, in the Preface to the commentary on Matthew by Hilary of Poitiers. For, as Rome, the mistress of the world, was not ashamed, at a period long before, to ask of Greece instruction in all the arts; so also, in these later times, the Latin church derived all their knowledge from the Greek church. But, among the Greeks, Origen was the first who introduced this study of grammatical interpretation, and the interpretation itself; and furnished, also, an example of the management of it, which was followed by others; for, he was the first in the Greek church, and also the last, in whom were found all things which furnish a competent ability for such an undertaking. This, then, will be the first argument, by means of which, we shall endeavour to establish our position assumed at the outset.

## VI.

The original principles of all sciences lie concealed in the human mind, as those of all fruits lie concealed in the

earth. Still, *non omnis fert omnia tellus*, every soil does not produce all kinds of fruits. So, the genius, also, of every individual or nation, is not adapted to produce the fruits of every art. It was given to the Greeks to be the originators of all the arts which depend upon genius; the hope and renown of imitation, was left to the other nations. Accordingly, both the universal doctrine of grammar, and the art of interpretation, were introduced by the Greeks, and disseminated, from them, to other nations; nor is there known to have existed, in ancient times, a single good interpreter, who either was not a Greek, or had not acquired his ability by imitating the Greek examples. As to the Jews, indeed, it is abundantly manifest, that they could boast of no grammatical interpreters of the sacred books, before they had begun to avail themselves of Grecian examples, if not of Grecian learning; nor is there extant a grammatical commentary upon the inspired writings, of a more ancient date than the twelfth century; at which time, the Jews, who were residing among the Arabians, followed their example in their study of Grecian learning. It need not excite surprise, therefore, if it be found, that the grammatical interpretation of the sacred writings, among Christians, may be traced to the Greeks. But, merely to be a Grecian, was not sufficient: it behoved him, who first desired to profess himself a grammatical interpreter, and to engage in this business, with success and renown, to understand, thoroughly, the arts of the Greek interpreters, and to be familiar with them by much exercise. In addition to this, he must, necessarily, have possessed no ordinary readiness and skill in the use of Greek and Hebrew letters. Origen, however, was the first among the Doctors of the Greek church, who possessed all these qualifications; for, Clement, the erudite master of Origen, was unacquainted with Hebrew letters, and inexperienced in this mode of interpretation.



## VII.

That Origen was well versed in the grammatical arts both of writing and of interpreting, who can entertain a doubt, after the concordant testimony of the ancients, that he not only, from childhood to his last days, cultivated polite letters, with the greatest zeal ;\* but, also, had lived in the capacity of a grammarian, prior to his attempt at sacred interpretation and his profession of the same ; on which account, also, he was wont to be censured by the envious and illiterate herd of the clergy, who could not endure the splendour and renown of his learning ; while he himself, meanwhile, was grieved at their ignorance of the great necessity and utility of this learning, in sacred interpretation.† In regard to what Eusebius says,‡ that Origen, having entered upon the office of instructor, in a school at Alexandria, *renounced the profession of grammatical learning, as useless, and adverse to piety*, it is the silly and ridiculous interpretation, either of Eusebius himself, or of some other, from whom, as a compiler, he drew his remarks, desirous of imitating the example of good historians, who add, from conjecture, the reasons and motives of every thing which they relate ; which interpretation, he himself confutes, in the sequel c. 18., where he relates, that Origen, to the very last, continued to cultivate and to teach polite letters, mathematical science, and philosophy, for the reason stated above. What progress he made in the science of interpretation, is proved by the fact, that he attained to the summit of grammatical learning, viz. the art of criticism ; of the accurate use of which, in the sacred books, from the instructions of the Greeks, he was

\* Eusebius Histor. Eccles. vi. 1.

† Eusebius Ibid. vi. 18.

‡ Ibid. vi. 3.

the first, undoubtedly, to furnish an example, as we shall prove in the sequel.

### VIII.

That Origen was well versed in Hebrew letters, is attested by Jerome\* and by the *Hexapla*, a work of Origen, in which he presented the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, written both in the Hebrew and the Greek characters; in which he corrected, also, by the Hebrew text, and completed, the whole version of the Septuagint translators: which, certainly, is not the work of a man unacquainted with the Hebrew language. Huet† denies, that any person, who is familiar with the writings of Origen, can believe this knowledge of his to have been extraordinary, inasmuch as many things are met with, in those writings, inconsistent with a familiar acquaintance with the Hebrew. I must acknowledge myself, however, to be but little moved by this argument, especially when I find the examples adduced in confirmation of it, pertaining, for the most part, to the derivations of words; in which re-

\* De Scriptt. Eccles. 54. “*Contra aetatis gentisque suae naturam edidicerat*” “he had acquired this knowledge, contrary to the disposition of his age and nation.” The word *aetas* I translate, neither with Trithemius, *old age*, nor with Huet (Orig. i. 2, 3.), *manhood*; although Sophronius translates it ἡλικία, and renders the phrase *gentis natura*, by οἰκεία φύσις. Jerome, however, meant to say, that in the age of Origen, it had not yet become customary, for the Greek Christians, to acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew; resting satisfied with their own language, and the Greek version of the old Testament. Thus I understood his words, when I first read them; and I find that the celebrated Fabricius (Biblioth. Eccles. Hieron. as above cited, and Biblioth. Graec. v. p. 224.) has understood them in the same manner.

† ji. 1. 2.

spect, mistakes are by no means uncommon, even with those who are eminently skilled in any language. Varro, for example, a profound Latin scholar, fails to afford satisfaction in this department, even to us, who are far removed from his knowledge of the Latin. Besides, as Casaubon\* correctly observes, it was customary among the ancients, to indulge in a subtle but mis-applied inquisitiveness; so that, in the case of foreign words, of whose derivation they were ignorant, they set themselves about inventing something, which they accommodated to the signification of those words. In the same manner, the Fathers invent Greek, or even Latin, etymologies of Hebrew words; not because they are ignorant of the true derivation, as many, at the present day, persuade themselves, but purely from that inquisitiveness of which I have just spoken. Examples of this kind, he cites, also, in the same work. For, the distinction which Origen makes, in a certain passage of his commentary,† between οὐρανός and οὐρανοί, is introduced by him, when writing to the Greeks, in a popular style, in accommodation to their own language, and to the opinion concerning the three heavens, which was then prevalent; just as, in Rom. xii. 1., he affirmed οἰκτιρμοί to mean something more than οἰκτιρμός, saying nothing about the Hebraism, by which this plural is used in the sense of *beneficence*; because he had to do with Greeks, unacquainted with the Hebraism, and his business was not so much to elicit the grammatical sense of the words, as to exhort the common people, or the unlearned reader, to the discharge of duty. Many such things, I have met with, myself, in the writings of Origen, so far as they have been read by me; still, I have not, on this account, entertained a doubt of his familiarity with Hebrew letters, which Jerome expressly attributes to him.

\* Adv. Baron. Exercitatt. xvi. n. ii.

† Matth. xviii. 18. p. 336.

## IX.

Learned men have been much too severe, in this judgment concerning the knowledge of Hebrew letters among ancient writers. I shall say nothing of Josephus, who, although he lived in the midst of Palestine, and professes to have written Hebrew books, and to have drawn his *Antiquities* from the original inspired volume, nevertheless, is charged with ignorance in this department of learning. And, how few there are who do not attribute ignorance of the Hebrew language to Philo,—who is still more closely connected with the cause of Origen,—who was very diligent in cultivating an acquaintance with the Jewish law and history. *No one, says Scaliger,\* who has read Philo, can fail to discover, that he was very ignorant of the Hebrew.* And why? Because, in his etymological efforts, he wanders from the truth, and interprets Greek expressions, in a Greek sense, even where they depart from the Hebrew usage, and tortures them into allegories. Scholars certainly do not sufficiently regard, either the age in which these men flourished, or the character of their productions, when they judge thus severely of their merits. When we inquire concerning the proficiency in Hebrew learning, of Philo, Origen, and Jerome (to the last named person, also, the late Loescher,† with Le Clerc and others, attributes but a moderate share of knowledge in this department), we certainly do not inquire for that knowledge which is rigidly conformed to grammatical accuracy, such as we now demand in him who professes an acquaintance with Hebrew letters. This precise knowledge had no existence in those times; not even among Jewish Doctors, who had been born and educated among

\* Castigatt. in Euseb. Chronic. p. 7.

† De Causs. Ling. Ebr. p. 96.

Jews, and employed the Hebrew tongue, such as it then was, and had schools in the midst of Palestine ; inasmuch as the Hebrew language had not yet, after the manner of the Greeks, been subjected accurately to grammatical research, nor had the analogy of the language been thoroughly investigated by means of nice observation, and embraced and defined by perspicuous rules. So that, even those who were accounted especially skilful in this respect, nevertheless, as is the case with our own countrymen, in their vernacular tongue, were now and then put to a stand, or wandered from the truth, particularly in the case of the expressions of a more ancient character, and removed from common use, and of the derivations of words ; and a competent knowledge of a language, so far as it serves the purpose of interpretation, neither can nor ought to be denied to any one, because of such mistakes. As to the character of their productions, on the other hand, it was not the design of Philo to write a grammatical commentary upon the books of Moses ; of which, at that time, as I have before said, there was no example. He wished, rather, to display his talents, by inventing allegories, new and fraught with Grecian philosophy ; to show his wisdom, derived, chiefly, from an acquaintance with Greek letters ; and, also, to exercise and display his eloquence ; diligently enriching his works, with all the elegancies of exquisite expression, and refined sentiment, especially those of Plato and Demosthenes ; imitating, also, the most beautiful diction of the latter, which had been noticed and lauded by the Grecian rhetoricians. Every one must be aware of this, who comes to the perusal of the works of Philo, from that of Plato and Demosthenes ; and, indeed, this is the only legitimate way of access to the full understanding of Philo, and the full perception of his beauties. He did not write, therefore, for his countrymen of the common sort, and unacquainted with the Grecian philosophy and eloquence.



who were unable to understand and appreciate such things ; —what would they suppose, for example, was meant by the words ἐπεντρύσεις and ἐπεντρύματα,\* which even Casaubon† did not comprehend ; by ἀγαλματοφορεῖν,‡ also, which no one of his interpreters understood ; and other words, drawn from the more remote portions of the language ;—but for Jews, instructed after the manner of the Greeks, such as Josephus and a few others, and for the Greeks themselves. The words of the Greek interpretation were, of course, to be regarded in consistency with this design of the writer ; nor was there any necessity of conforming the discussion to Hebrew accuracy, which as he well knew, the readers, whom he desired to have, for the most part either were ignorant of, or cared little about. Although I would concede, that Origen was less infected with this affectation in his manner of writing, and, while he did not spurn the praise of learning and eloquence, had more particular reference to the benefit of his readers ; still, when he wrote his commentaries and his homilies,—and that, too, to Greeks, utterly unacquainted with the Hebrew idiom, and for the purpose of edification,—he did not consider it necessary to adhere, in every instance, to the strict letter of the Hebrew : and, if he sometimes departs from it, he is not, on this account, to be charged with ignorance of the Hebrew, any more than our preachers are to be charged with ignorance both of the Hebrew and of the Greek, because, frequently, in accommodation to the capacity of the common people, as it seems to me, in their arguments, monitions, and exhortations, they follow their vernacular version, rather than adhere, with fidelity, to the original Hebrew or Greek. And, indeed, Origen himself seems to hint at this same thing, in a remarkable passage,§—not noticed, so far as I know, by writers on this subject of allegorical interpreta-

\* Allegorr. Leg. ii. p. 27.

† Athen. xiii. p. 546.

‡ De Opif. Mund. p. 4.

§ Commentt. in Matth. p. 371

tion,—where he denies that he wished to insist upon three kinds of *eunuchism*, pertaining to the body, lest, discoursing *for the sake of exercise* (γυμνασίας εἵνεκεν), he might afford an occasion of wresting the whole precept of Christ concerning *eunuchism*, to another sense. Those commentaries, therefore, have some regard to *exercise*, not that which is useless to the reader, but that in which truth, neither in the words nor the matter, is pruned and scrutinized too closely. We may style them, in the words of Thucydides, \* ἀγωνίσματα μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν, ἢ κτήματα ἐς αἰεὶ : *contests, adapted to promote the present pleasure and admiration of the hearer and reader, rather than lasting monuments, about to confer true glory and durable benefit.*

### Λ.

On this subject, however, Huet exhibits but little acuteness, when, among the examples which clearly evince an ignorance of the Hebrew, he places the following also, which is cited, in the same commentary on Matthew, out of Nehem. i. 11., ii. 1. 6., ἤμην εὐνοῦχος τῷ βασιλεῖ : instead of which, he thinks he would have adopted, from the Hebrew text, οἶνοχόος, *if he had been at all skilled in the Hebrew tongue*; because, the corresponding Hebrew phrase is מְשָׁקֶה לַמֶּלֶךְ ; unless we may suppose him to have introduced, of his own accord, into the Greek text, the word εὐνοῦχος, while all the copies of the Alexandrian version exhibited, as they do at the present day, οἶνοχόος. For myself, I should rather have expected, if the reading of the copies of the Alexandrian version had been, in his day, εὐνοῦχος, that he would have corrected it, in the *Hexapla*, from the Hebrew text, with the addition of the usual mark of emendation ; than that he would have changed οἶνοχόος into εὐνοῦχος. But the very learned editor of Ori-

\* Lib. i. 22

gen, did not understand his manner of discussion, and of citing a passage from the Scriptures. Origen was desirous of making mention of *eunuchs*, from the sacred books, in a mystical sense of the word, which he himself may have invented; not, by the way, a sense which belonged to it, by the design of the Holy Spirit, but one which presented itself to his own mind. He produces, in the first place, from Gen. xl. 1., the cup bearer and the baker of Pharaoh, whom he styles *eunuchs*, *castrated* in order that they might hold that office;—not because Moses styles them thus, nor because it is clearly evident that they were castrated; but from conjecture, drawn from a royal custom in the East, in after times. He then adds Nehemiah, the royal cup-bearer, and styles him, also, an *eunuch* in accommodation to the drift of the discussion, placing the generic for the specific denomination, εὐνοῦχος ἡμην τῷ βασιλεῖ. Shall we collect from this, that he supposed the Hebrew word מְשַׁקֵּה was properly translated εὐνοῦχος, or, that he found it thus written in the copies of the Septuagint version; and, therefore, that this word is to be received as a various reading, in that passage? By no means. Many such things are found in the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers, which are not accurately cited from the sacred books, conformably to the reading of the Greek and Latin copies, but consistently with the general sense, and in accommodation to the design of the discussion. In these cases, it sometimes happens, that the more careless and inattentive receive them as various readings of the Greek and Latin manuscripts, as the venerable Michaelis correctly observes.\* But, concerning the proficiency of Origen in Hebrew letters, we have said enough, and, perhaps, more than enough.

\* De Var. Lectt. Nov. Test. § 15.

## XI.

The sum of what we have hitherto advanced, is this : That Origen was deficient in none of those things, which ought to be found in one who was desirous of being the first to open and prepare the way, for the correct use of grammatical interpretation, in the sacred writings : and to furnish an example for the imitation of others. For, in the first place,—a thing which is necessary for all who would undertake, with a prospect of success, any thing, in a department entirely new,—he had conceived, in his mind, an idea of the art, derived from approved books and examples of the Greek grammatical interpreters ; to which idea, he conformed himself, in endeavouring to cope with them, in this new description of composition : and, in the next place, by interpreting Greek books, and by exercising the arts of the grammarians while this was his profession, he had acquired a good share of experience in the use of those methods which avail in interpretation, without which, precepts, however good, can profit us nothing. He was eminently versed, not only in the Greek,—which proficiency was common to him with some other older Doctors of the Church,—but, also, in the Hebrew, if not to the degree which, at the present day, is demanded of the accomplished grammarian, at least, to the degree which suffices for the interpretation of the books of the Old and New Testaments. For, in Homer, also, are words, whose signification and force are understood by interpreters, but whose derivation and philological character, are either manifestly unknown to the more ancient as well as the more modern interpreters, or are dwelt upon, sometimes, with little satisfaction, and evidently in discordance with the analogy of the language ; as those are aware, who have even superficially examined the commentary of Eustathius. What more can be desired ? What need, however, of ar-

guments, where we have the testimony of facts? Let us, then, advert to these.

## XII.

That the truly erudite interpretation, should commence with an attention and judgment bestowed upon the emendation of the reading, is manifest of itself, and has lately been shown by us. It was, therefore, a matter of diligent attention and care with Origen, to peruse the Hebrew and the Greek writings of the Old and the New Testament, with the correct readings; and it may be said, with truth, that by him a commencement was made, and an example furnished, of sacred criticism, which was cultivated, afterwards, by some few Doctors of the Greek and the Latin Church, by Jerome, for example, Isidore of Pelusium, and others. For,—to begin with the books of the Old Testament,—he composed, with immense labour and diligence, the famous *Hexapla*, upon which, as upon a foundation, the whole superstructure of *Hermeneutics* was raised. For, in that work, he proposed to himself two things: first, to furnish a most accurate and approved copy of the divine writings, in either language, from which, as from an exemplar, good and unexceptionable copies might be transcribed; and secondly, to assist in the understanding of the Hebrew original, by a variety of versions. Concerning the latter, we shall speak presently: to the former, let us now devote a few moments. It is abundantly manifest, that, in this work, the Hebrew text occupied the first column of each page; and there cannot be a doubt, that he formed it from the best copies, to which he had access, and that he regulated it according to the authority of the greater number. This must have been an easy matter, in those times, for one living in the midst of Palestine, and enjoying the friendship of learned Jews, and amply supplied with the necessary pecuniary means, by



Ambrose, a man of great wealth, and an encourager of the work. On this subject, however, we may listen to his own words; for, in his Epistle to Africanus,\* he professes to have compared the Greek with the Hebrew copies (Ἑσραικοῖς ἀντιγράφοις). And this itself affords us good ground to believe, that, if the Hebrew manuscripts had exhibited the minute system of vowel-points which now obtains, Origen would have used such a manuscript. For, it would have indicated a great want of skill and attention, in an editor and a critic, not to avail himself of the best copy, in such a business; nor, is it at all to the point, what Carpozov,† with others, who maintain the antiquity of those points, replies to those opponents who objected to him the silence of Origen: *there existed, indeed, at that time, manuscripts furnished with the points; but, inasmuch as they were sold at a very high price, they were not so common that a copy could be in the hands of every one*:—which remark, however, he makes, without support from any ancient authority or testimony. This one thing, indeed, is certain, that Origen did not write the Hebrew with those vowel-points. For, both Eusebius—an eye witness, who was bishop of Cesarea, at which place the autographical work of Origen was preserved, in the library of the Cathedral,—and Epiphanius,‡ make mention of the στοιχεῖα alone, which are the *elements* or *letters*; otherwise, it would have been unnecessary to present, in another column, the Hebrew words expressed by means of Greek characters, which served the purpose of indicating the vowel sounds, and animated, as it were, those lifeless στοιχεῖα or Hebrew *elements*. This, however, does not furnish, perhaps, a satisfactory argument to such as deny that those points were then in use. For, Origen might have prefer-

\* p. 13. B. T. I. Opp. Edition of Ruæcus.

† Crit. Sacr. p. 271.

‡ De Pond. et Mens. c. 7.

red to express the vowels, by means of letters, in order to prevent a fluctuation in the reading, and that he might make it manifest, from the authority of ancient and approved manuscripts, what was the proper reading, in each passage; especially in such as were ambiguous owing to the resemblance of the letters, or to the context; and, in this manner, the genuine reading, fastened, as it were, with such bonds, might become certain and unalterable. In this, he must be acknowledged to have acted the part of a good and prudent critic, and to have ingeniously devised that method of expressing the Hebrew words by Greek letters. This praise, indeed, still belongs to Origen, even if the above conjecture should not meet the approbation of those, who prefer to adopt the opinion, either of Capellus, Simon, Morinus, and others, who suppose that the Hebrew words were written again in Greek characters, in accordance with the traditionary pronunciation of the Jews, or with the manner, then in vogue, of writing each word; or else, of the great Schultens,\* and his followers, who maintain that the vowel points were in use at the time of Origen and before, but not that refined and minute system which now obtains. But the discussion concerning the points does not belong to this place. The inquiry is, whether Origen has discharged the duty of a good biblical critic, in editing the Hebrew text; which, we trust, we shall be able to prove to our readers.

### XIII.

One thing, indeed, I would assert, without hesitation; that those readings, which are found, at the present day, in the margin of the Hebrew copies, were absent, both from the Hexapla,—no traces of them, not even the slightest,

\* Comment. in Proverb. Sal. Praef.

occurring among ancient writers, who, certainly, would not have passed over, in silence, this part of the labour of criticism, especially as they mention the *obeli* and the asterisks of the Greek version,—but also from the Hebrew books then extant. For, it cannot be believed,—if it had been manifest, among the Jewish teachers, that those readings were derived and noted, I will not say, from inspired men, from Moses, for example, Ezra, and others, which is, indeed, the absurd opinion of some, but from ancient and approved manuscripts, possessing an authority equal to that of the rest, or, at least, worthy of our regard ;—that Origen would have omitted them, especially when we consider that they might have gradually taken the place of glosses, and, so far, have afforded assistance to the student ; when we consider, also, that he added, immediately succeeding in order, the version of Aquila, for no other reason, but that he might assist in the understanding of the Hebrew words, particularly the more rare and difficult.

#### XIV.

The Hexapla furnish us with another proof of the exercise of *criticism*, viz. the Greek version of the Alexandrian translators. For, the other translations, inasmuch as they were of recent date, and not of equal authority in the Church, did not call for a critical castigation. Concerning this particular proof, we may speak with the more confidence, since the ancient writers plainly and accurately speak of the necessary helps and the operation of this critical castigation. The copies which were in common use, at that time, varied so much, and were so manifestly corrupted by the subduction, addition, and alteration of words, that a castigation seemed necessary. Accordingly, three persons conceived, almost simultaneously, the design of accomplishing this work : viz. Origen in Palestine, Lucian

in Syria, and Hesychius in Egypt. In consequence of this, three revised copies of this version were produced, differing considerably from one another. Each Church zealously adopted and maintained the benefit which originated among themselves, and was conferred first upon them. *Alexandria and Egypt*, says Jerome,\* *cite Hesychius, as the parent of their copies of the Septuagint; Constantinople and the district of country as far as Antioch, approve the copy of Lucian the Martyr; and the intermediate provinces adopt the Palestine manuscripts, formed by the labour and revision of Origen, and published by Eusebius and Pamphilus.* And here it becomes us to acknowledge, in passing, the justice or the good sense of the Doctors of the ancient Church, who, although they generally regarded this version as divinely inspired, or, at least, placed it on a footing with the Hebrew original; still, permitted criticism to be exercised upon it, and those copies which they had had in their hands, and to which they had been long accustomed, not only to fall into disuse, and that, too, without complaining of any wrong, but also supposed that a benefit had been conferred upon themselves and upon the Church, and both availed themselves of it and permitted others to do so. But, the correct study of letters was not yet banished from among the Greeks; and, among the Doctors, there were not wanting those who were well furnished with useful learning, who were well aware of the necessity and utility of just criticism; while the rest had not learned to despise, through arrogance, what they themselves, owing to their dulness or sloth, had never learned.

## XV.

In regard to Hesychius and Lucian, we do not find any certain information, as to what assistance they received

\* Preface to the Books of Chronicles.

from manuscripts, and the mode of correction they pursued ; nor, does it belong to our plan to push this inquiry, or to speak of their respective revisions. In this one respect, however, their mode of proceeding differed from that of Origen, that they consulted, in pursuance of their design, only the Greek manuscripts, while Origen called to his aid both the Greek and the Hebrew ; whence it came to pass, that the revision of Origen corresponded more closely with the readings of the Hebrew, than that of Lucian or Hesychius. By this mark, we may recognise the origin of those copies which are now extant, either manuscript or printed, as is correctly remarked by Morinus, in his letter to Jun. Patricius,\* in which he treats of the Alexandrian Copy. Origen, on the other hand, as is very generally related, undertook this critical castigation, after having, first of all, procured the best manuscripts he could find, and among these, that most noble copy which was preserved in the temple of Serapis at Alexandria, by many incorrectly supposed to be the autograph copy of the Septuagint. This, however, is of little importance. It is sufficient that he gave his attention to the collating of the most ancient manuscripts then in existence, which, in every revision of an ancient author, is accounted the first praise and commendation. Indeed, as it is agreed among those acquainted with the art, that the genuine reading can sometimes be either explored or confirmed, from the versions of ancient writings ; how much more is it to be supposed, that the errors of the versions can be detected and corrected by the aid of the original. So that, Origen proceeded correctly and orderly, when he approached the Hebrew original, and undertook to derive from this source a more correct reading ; especially when we consider that there was, as I have said, a coincident opinion of Jews and

\* Antiqq. Eccles. Orient.



Christians, that that version, from whatever cause, was corrupted; and the greatest part of the corruption necessarily consisted in its departure from the Hebrew copies, excepting those instances in which the translators had wandered, either through negligence or ignorance of the ancient language.

## XVI.

But, in this very thing, Origen is charged with a want of discernment by J. Morinus, I Voss, and others, who think that the Hebrew should have been corrected from the Greek, rather than the Greek from the Hebrew; and deny that any thing should have been added to or taken from the Greek version, without the concurrence of manuscripts; but that Origen, on the contrary, had marked with *obeli*, the Greek expressions which were not found in the Hebrew, while he had added such as were not in the Greek, but were exhibited in the Hebrew. In the first place, Origen, who followed the Hebrew original, did not introduce corrections without the concurrence of manuscripts; and, in the next place, both the Greeks, even those who were unacquainted with the Hebrew, and could not have been deceived by Jewish teachers; and the Jews, who held that version in high estimation, nevertheless, agreed in considering it as exceedingly vitiated; which opinion was strengthened by the great variation in the copies. No suspicion, however, was ever harboured, concerning the integrity of the Hebrew books; nor, indeed, is any trace of such a suspicion to be met with in the writings of those times. Origen even asserts the Hebrew copies to be καθαρά καὶ μηδὲν πλάσμα ἔχοντα, *pure and undulterated*, and exhorts\* Christians to lay aside their Greek copies, and to elicit, even by flattery, from the Jews.

\* Ad African. p. 16.

uncorrupted manuscripts. Why, then, should it not appear befitting, to correct the Greek from the Hebrew, rather than the Hebrew from the Greek; provided only, where Greek manuscripts afford no assistance, a certain moderation were used? It is clear that this moderation was used by Origen. For, he has marked with the asterisk, whatever he had added from the Hebrew, lest they should be confounded with those things which rested upon the authority of the Greek manuscripts; and whatever was not found in the Hebrew, he did not remove from the the Greek text, nor did he wish to do so, contrary to the manuscripts; but, by the addition of an *obelus*, he has indicated that they were not found in the Hebrew copies. He thus reminds the student, that if they should light upon some ancient and approved manuscripts, which he had not been able to consult, they might examine whether his asterisks or his *obeli* would be confirmed, upon the authority of these manuscripts. Nor, did he, in those things which he added, rest solely upon his own judgment. He took them, for the most part, from Theodotion, who not only was manifestly very nearly allied to the Septuagint translators, in his manner of translating, but had transferred into his own version the very words of those translators, found in the ancient copies. What greater diligence can we conceive of?

## XVII.

Origen did not, however, bestow his critical labour upon the Old Testament alone. He bestowed it also upon the New Testament; not that arduous labour which the former received,—for, the latter was comparatively of small bulk, and did not demand the same regard to versions,—but, still, not less commendable, and useful to the Church. Concerning which, inasmuch as those who say much about his critical services, in reference to the Old Testament.

either are silent, or touch upon it very superficially, I thought it proper to enlarge with more diligence. The thing, moreover, is worthy of being more accurately known by all, who wish to judge of the origin and authority of manuscripts, even those which are now extant ; and of the value of the readings, which are drawn from them ; and, finally, to be successfully and understandingly employed in the criticism, universally, of the New Testament. And, at the outset, I perceive that men of learning in this department, disagree in this matter. Some suppose the books of the New Testament to have been examined by Origen, with critical diligence, and corrected by a comparison with ancient manuscripts. Others are of opinion, that no such thing was done by him. Accordingly, the manuscripts and copies of Origen, which are stated to have been brought into the Cesarean library by Pamphilus, and consulted by many, they understand to be manuscripts procured by him, and collected for his assistance in interpreting. I find Zacagnius,\* Simon,† and Mills,‡—in this instance, also, following in the steps of Simon,—to have been of this opinion. We are not sorry to entertain a different opinion, viz. that the text of the sacred books was corrected by Origen, and that the examples of this castigation were called the *exemplaria* of that Father.

## XVIII.

And, in the first place, this opinion receives some degree of probability from this consideration, that, in like manner as Lucian and Hesychius, who, as we have already stated, revised, almost simultaneously, the Greek version

\* Monumentt. Vet. Eccles. Graec. Praef. p. 65.

† Histor. Critic. Nov. Test. c. 29. p. 337.

‡ Prolegg. in Nov. Test. n. 673.

of the Old Testament, published also the books of the New Testament,—a work, however, less approved by the learned,—so it seems probable that Origen, either of his own accord, or at the instigation of others, undertook the same labour, in order that corrected copies of both portions of the sacred volume might be extant. But this conjecture receives, as it seems to me, the fullest support, from those passages of ancient writers in which the *exemplaria* of Origen are mentioned. Jerome, for example, cites them, in a passage\* where they can denote nothing but the copies revised by Origen and corrected according to the authority of good and ancient manuscripts. If the *exemplaria* of Lucian the Martyr, cited by the same Jerome, are no other than those copies which he had critically revised,—of which there can be no doubt, nor has it ever been questioned,—why may not the *exemplaria* of Origen be understood in the same manner? Especially when Jerome rests upon their authority, in asserting the genuineness of a reading. For, it is not the owner that brings authority to a manuscript,—nay a very learned critic may be the owner of very faulty manuscripts,—but the known diligence of the owner, or some other person, in revising and correcting them. And Origen, in more than one passage, informs us that vitiated manuscripts had been examined by him. In regard to the opinion of Simon,†—that, if the books of the New Testament had been revised by Origen, in the same manner as the Septuagint version had been, copies would have been generally made from his, or corrected by it,—it is undoubtedly correct; but he errs, when he denies that this was done, again and again, in the ancient Greek Church. For, the manuscripts of Pamphilus, which, as Euthalius‡ affirms, had been transcribed by his own hand, and deposited in the Cesarean

\* Note upon Matthew xxiv. 36. † As cited above.

‡ Epistt. Cathol. p. 513.

library, are believed by scholars to have been formed from the *revision* of Origen, of whom Pamphilus was, as is well known, a great admirer, inasmuch as he was the author of an *Apology* for that Father. Moreover, the manuscripts of Eusebius, with whose transcription, and conveyance to Constantinople, he was entrusted, by order of Constantine the Great,\* were, beyond a doubt, derived from the same *revision*; nor, can it be credited, that Eusebius was charged by the Emperor with this commission, for any other reason, than because the reputation and authority of the manuscripts of Origen were the most unequivocal. No one, I imagine, will be disposed to doubt, that the Constantinopolitan manuscripts, publicly acknowledged and approved, at least in that diocese, were, if not all, at all events, very many new copies, modelled after these. And, again, when Euthalius, who has just been mentioned, conceived the design of producing his critical work,—an edition of the Catholic Epistles of Paul and of the Acts of the Apostles,—he left every thing, and went to Cesarea, and compared his own copy with those at Cesarea, prepared by Pamphilus and Eusebius, that is, the copies formed from the *revision* of Origen, and corrected it by them, as he himself declares.† In the very 'ancient manuscript of R. Marshall, which is now in the possession of the Parisian Jesuits, at the end of Jeremiah we find the following words, although spoken of the books of the Old Testament : διωρθώθη ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀριγένους αὐτοῦ τετραπλῶν, ἅτινα καὶ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ διώρθωτο . . . . *corrected from the Tetrapla of Origen himself, which had been corrected by his own hand.* Hence it is perfectly obvious, what is meant by the *copy* of Origen, and *correcting in conformity with his copies.*

\* Euseb. Vit. Constantin. iv. 36. Theodoret. Histor. Eccles. 16.

† Actt. Apostt. et Epistt. Cathol. p. 515. in the Monumentt. Vet. Eccles. Graec. as above cited.



## XIX.

It seems important, however, to ascertain what was the nature of this *revision* of Origen. In doing this, our attention is called, at the very outset, to the fact, that the authority of this revision was so great, in the ancient Church, not merely among the common and less erudite multitude, but among the most learned, such as Pamphilus, Eusebius, Jerome, and others of this class, who could judge correctly in such matters; that they published it in the libraries, commended it to Churches, settled controversies about doubtful readings by an appeal to it, and, almost in every instance, followed it in translating. We do not venture to affirm,—what we are aware has been supposed by a very learned man, whose name does not, at this moment, occur to us,—that Origen, when he was in Palestine, made use of manuscripts, not only others of an ancient date, but also the *autographs* of certain portions, the Epistles especially, which were still, at that time, preserved in those Churches to which they had been written. For, we are sufficiently aware, that this opinion is advanced without any adequate authority and testimony; and that it is plainly a matter of uncertainty, how long the *autographs* of the inspired writers were preserved. As to the assertion of Tertullian :\* *in Ecclesiis Apostolicis adhuc recitari authenticas Apostolorum literas, that the original (or authentic) Epistles of the Apostles were still publicly read in the Apostolical Churches*; although any one, with Garbellus,† may understand it as alluding to the *autographs*, still, there remains a doubt, which, indeed, suggested itself to the mind of that scholar, whether Tertullian speaks of it as a well known and certain fact, which

\* Praescriptt. Heret. c. 36.

† Prolegg. ad Blanchini Euangelarium p. 27.

hardly seems to be the case, or, as a mere report. But there is no reason why we may not understand the *authenticæ literæ*, to mean *uncorrupted Epistles*, that is, *not interpolated*, as is frequently the case with those of our day. The opinion entertained by the interpreters of Tertullian, and which meets the approbation of Simon, viz. that by this phrase is meant *the Greek copies*, is refuted by the fact, that other Greek Churches, also, had Greek copies in their possession. That Origen, however, possessed and consulted very many and approved manuscripts, of which there was no want, we are led to believe, even from his known intelligence in such matters; and this opinion is confirmed by many passages of his works, in which he alludes to the variety of manuscripts which he had consulted: for example, in his Commentary on John p. 130., *σχέδον ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις κείται · ταῦτα ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐγένετο*, *in almost all the copies is found ταῦτα*, &c. Nor can it be suspected, that the manuscripts which he used, had been interpolated from the Latin version, and that some degree of corruption was introduced into his edition, from this source. Against such a supposition, we have the evidence of the readings of Chrysostom, and of other Greeks, who relied upon the copies of Origen; which readings, as is obvious, are at variance with the copies which followed the Latin version. And that the edition under consideration, had contracted some degree of error, from the corruptions and interpolations of heretics, is so far from being credible, that we are rather persuaded to believe, with Saubert, in a very learned work,\* that he was especially on his guard, in this respect, in order that the text of the New Testament might be, and might continue to be, pure from all such blemishes.

\* Var. Lectt. in Matth. Prolegg. p. 21.

## XX.

I am aware that it is made a question, whether Origen, in his revision, gave place to conjectures. Wetstein,\* indeed, although he does not entertain a doubt, that, if the revised copy of Origen were extant, we should obtain more assistance, toward furnishing a strictly accurate edition of the New Testament, from that quarter, than from all the manuscripts which we now possess; nevertheless, denies that he would approve of all the readings of Origen, because, from mere conjectures, and those, too, as is usually the case, neither happy nor necessary, he has altered many things in the New Testament; as may be discovered from those passages concerning which he himself instructs us in the remains of his commentaries; and as we would be aware, also, from a still greater number of examples, if we possessed all his Greek Commentaries entire. In regard to what this distinguished scholar advances concerning the goodness of the revision of Origen, we admit that it would satisfy even Origen himself, if he were alive; but, in regard to what he says concerning the conjectures of Origen, there seems to be some room for doubt. I am disposed, therefore, to devote a few words to this subject. I am well aware, that the ancient Doctors of the Church, and interpreters of the sacred books, and those, too, the most celebrated and erudite, have thought very differently in relation to the criticism to be exercised in those cases, from certain novices formed from the study of some *Introduction* and *Compend of learning*, who reject, as offensive and pernicious, all criticism, the very name of which they dread and detest; and that they have approved of the exercise of this criticism, not only so far as not to rest satisfied with the authority of any one manuscript whatever; and with a decision in regard to what is to be

\* Prolegg. ad Nov. Test. i. p. 67.

adopted, resting upon a comparison of the more ancient and approved copies ; but, also, that in case the manuscripts did not afford satisfaction, or, rather, did not seem to afford it, they might betake themselves to conjectures. But they resorted to this, in the same manner as modest critics do in uninspired writings ; that is, to propose conjectures in their commentaries, but to abstain from any verbal alterations in the text itself. Origen, in my opinion, used this same method and moderation. Now and then, in his commentaries, he indulged in conjectures, in those passages where he was unable to extricate himself ; and in the revision of the inspired writings, he was scrupulously careful not to admit any thing without the authority of good manuscripts. The examples, indeed, of conjectures, which are cited by Wetstein, are all taken from his commentaries and notes, nor can it be shown or rendered probable, that those conjectures were introduced into the text. And if, subsequently, some of those conjectures were incorporated with the text, by those who attributed too much authority to Origen, this is not the fault of Origen, so much as of those who thoughtlessly abused those conjectures.

## XXI.

That the revised copy of Origen sometimes followed a different reading from the Homilies and Commentaries, is manifest from the passage in Matth. xxiv. 36., which, in the Homilies, is handled in such a manner as to evince, that regard was had to the words οὐδὲ υἱὸς ; as Erasmus remarks, when commenting upon that passage. That these words, however, were not found in the copy of Origen, is testified by Jerome in his commentary. Besides, I would not number among conjectures, every thing which Wetstein places in this class. The reading ἐν βῆταβαρᾷ Jo. i. 28., which he, unhesitatingly, discards from the text, as

an empty conjecture of Origen, restoring the reading ἐν βηθ-  
 δαβία, was derived, in my opinion, not from a vain con-  
 jecture, but from the authority of manuscripts, although  
 the number was small. And this, as it seems to me, is in-  
 timated by Origen himself, because, in the first place, he  
 uniformly, with so much confidence, calls it, *Bethabara* ;  
 and, in the next place, says, expressly, that the reading ἐν  
 βηθδαβία, was found, not *in all the copies*, but ἐν σχεδὸν πᾶσι  
*in nearly all*. Here I would ask, what was the reading  
 in the excepted copies ? For, in some, although it be a  
 few, there was another reading than ἐν βηθδαβία. May we  
 not suppose, that those few had ἐν βηθαβαρα, since he men-  
 tions no other reading as exhibited by those copies ? And  
 wherefore should he say, that he was not ignorant, that in  
 almost all the copies, was found the reading ἐν βηθδαβία ?  
 Evidently for the purpose of excusing himself to his read-  
 ers, because, in adopting a particular reading, he disregard-  
 ed a large majority of manuscripts, to which he generally  
 had regard, unless, as he supposed was the case in the pre-  
 sent instance, the nature of the thing and the circum-  
 stances forbade it. So that, we should, without hesitation,  
 attribute to the revision of Origen, the character which the  
 ancients gave it, viz. that of *accuracy* and of *superior ac-  
 curacy*.

## XXII.

In regard to the merits of Origen in the first office of a  
 good interpreter, we have said enough, as we suppose, to  
 show, that he has been, with strict propriety, denominated,  
 by learned men,—by Vitringa,\* for example,—a *most  
 able critic*. In regard to his merits in the other office,  
 viz. the ascertaining of the sense of the words, by means

\* Commentar in Jesaiam. Praef.



of the grammatical arts, it remains for us to speak. And here we have, at the very outset, a testimony not sufficiently heeded, which is afforded by the *Hexapla*, a work of which I have already had occasion to speak. In this work, he seems to me, not to have had in view merely the furnishing a correct copy of the Hebrew and Alexandrine Greek text, but also to aid in understanding the sense of the words. The order in which the several Greek versions were arranged by Origen, in this work, is manifestly this. The first place is occupied, not by the most ancient version, but by that of Aquila; the next, by that of Symmachus; the third, by the Alexandrian; the fourth, by that of Theodotion. I shall say nothing of a fact, which all acknowledge, viz. that versions serve the purpose of a grammatical commentary and of notes. So that the Hebrew text was guarded, as it were, by four commentaries. Who does not know, that the version of Aquila, which was so accurately literal that it was held in high estimation, and was preferred before the other versions, both by the Jews, and by Christian Doctors who were ignorant of the Hebrew, which was also commonly known by the name of *Hebrew Verity*, and was cited in place of the Hebrew; that this version was regarded in the light of a Hebrew Glossary, of which, there existed, at that time, as far as I know, no example? And, with so much the better reason, in proportion as Aquila was more skilled in the Hebrew tongue, which Ephanus\* asserts of him in the following words: ἀκρότατα παιδεύσεις τὴν Ἑβραϊκὰ διάλεκτον, *thoroughly instructed in the Hebrew language*. But, a person who is competent to translate, word for word, does not, on this account, convey the meaning of a writer, especially if the languages differ widely in their genius, as we see is the case with the Oriental and the Occidental languages. Ac-

\* De Pond. et Mens. c. 15.

cordingly, to the version of Aquila, which, perhaps, promised assistance to the Jews, but not to those whose knowledge extended no farther than the Greek, he added, next in order, that of Symmachus, which expressed the sense of the Hebrew text in good Greek, as is agreed by the ancients. Jerome, for example, bestows upon it unbounded praise, for this very reason; whilst the Jews, supposing that the celestial truth was too much contaminated by the purity of the Greek, at such a remove from the Hebrew idiom, regarded it with utter detestation. Shall we not say, then, that Origen, by the union of these two versions, has presented the student of sacred letters, with an almost perfect exposition of grammatical interpretation. This was clearly seen by the commentator\* above cited, who, having censured the ancient Greek expositors of Isaiah, who followed too closely the Alexandrian version, and were seduced by it from the true sense of the Prophet, remarks that *they had in their hands, and before their eyes, most excellent versions* (he adds, also, a third, viz. that of Theodotion, which stood, as it were, in the middle between both, preserving neither the Greek purity nor the Hebrew accuracy, and mixed and compounded, if I may so speak, of both versions), *from which, when compared with one another, they might easily have ascertained the true sense of the Prophet, without any, or, at least, without any more, knowledge of the Hebrew idiom.* In this passage he expresses also his astonishment, that, after the revival of letters, there should have existed those, who did not set a due value upon the versions and their fragments. This remark pertains also to the Alexandrian version. For, this too was in the Hexapla; although the object of its insertion was, as we suppose, not so much that the Hebrew might be understood by means of it;—it must be con-

\* Vitringa: Commentar. in Jesaiam. Præf. p. 4.

fessed, however, that this also might be done, but with great caution, concerning which it is not necessary to speak at present :—but, in order that, in those passages which manifestly departed from the Hebrew, a remedy might be extracted from Aquila, where the sense was expressed word for word in bad Greek, that is, obscurely, and from Symmachus. For, as the Alexandrine version had been received in all the Greek Churches, and was held in such honour that it was almost regarded as of equal authority with the Hebrew copies, it being generally considered as divinely inspired, it was introduced by Origen into the *Hexapla*, as another authentic text, the understanding of which, as well as of the Hebrew copy, was to be sought for from Aquila and Symmachus, by those who were ignorant of the Hebrew. That the Greeks did not avail themselves of this advantage in their commentaries,—a fact which is manifest from the commentary of Procopius upon Isaiah, drawn from those commentaries of the Greeks,—is to be accounted for, as I suppose, in this way, that they were desirous of rendering them profitable, not to Doctors merely, but to all; on which account, it became necessary to adhere, in their interpretations, to the words of the Septuagint version, and with it to depart from the sense of the Hebrew; in the same manner as is done, not unfrequently, and with success, by our own countrymen, in expounding the words of Luther's version, for the benefit of the common people.

## XXIII.

This might have sufficed for those who wished, for themselves, to make trial of their talents and learning in interpreting, and to explore the sense of the inspired books of the Old Testament. But he pushed the matter further, from an insatiable desire of aiding in the understanding of sacred letters, and with an indefatigable industry and pa-

tience. For, he designed to furnish also examples of explanations of the inspired writings, which would be profitable either to Doctors or to the people. Jerome and other ancient authors mention not merely one kind of exegetical production of his. For, they ascribe to Origen, *Scholia*, *Remarks*, and *Commentaries*. Concerning which, I perceive there is a doubt entertained, whether two works are here designated under three names, so that *Scholia* and *Remarks* may be understood as denoting the same work; or three distinct works, designated by as many distinct names. Huet,\* indeed, whom the majority are wont to follow, is of opinion that *Scholia* and *Remarks* are to be regarded as different names for the same work. This opinion is supported by a great degree of probability, since the word σημειώσεις *Remarks* is used for every kind of exegetical work, even for volumes of commentaries; and Jerome translates *Scholia* and σημειώσεις, by one and the same word *Excerpta*, as Huet informs us in the same passage. Still, however, we have some doubt remaining, owing to certain passages of ancient writers, and to information derived from manuscripts. To the discussion of this subject we shall devote a few moments.

#### XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII.

[These sections are devoted to a discussion concerning the nature of the σημειώσεις of Origen. As the discussion is somewhat intricate and tedious, and of minor importance, as it regards the general subject, we have deemed it best, out of regard to a large majority of our readers, to omit it, and pass on to the closing remarks.]

#### XXIX.

From this process of *induction*, as it is called by Logicians, I think it is made manifest, that whatever advantages the ancient interpreters of the inspired writings, of the literal class, possessed, and whatever benefits they conferred, proceeded, almost entirely, from Origen, or, at least, originated

\* Origeniana iii. 2. p. 238.

from the works of Origen. An ancient writer, whose name I am not acquainted with, in Suidas, at the word Ὀριγένης, expresses himself correctly: *And, indeed, he has left innumerable works, in which he illustrates, by means of commentaries, the whole range of Ecclesiastical literature; so that all the Doctors of the Church, who succeeded him, have derived assistance from him. Gregory the Theologian remarks, therefore, with propriety: Origen is our common whet-stone.* As this judgment of Gregory ought to be understood as pertaining to the literal interpretation of sacred things, the same is the case also with the expression of Jerome,\* when he calls him, *the Teacher of the Churches, next to the Apostles.*

## XXX.

Some one will ask: How great, however, is the advantage derived from the commentaries of the Fathers? I cannot regard with approbation, those who will tolerate nothing at all that is new, in the interpretation of the sacred writings, but contend that in all things we must abide by the decisions of antiquity. This I find to be the opinion of Calovius,†—a cautious doctrine, indeed, in regard to the desire of innovation, but not a very friendly one to letters. For, if this opinion prevail, we must, forthwith, discard all study of languages, and acquiesce in the authority of the common commentaries of the ancients; than which mode of proceeding, nothing can be more favourable to sloth, or better adapted to recall a state of barbarism. Still, however, the advantages are by no means contemptible, which flow to us from the works of Origen as a fountain, through the commentaries of the Fathers, as those are wont to ex-

\* Interpret. Nomin. Hebr. Praef.

† Biblior. Illustr. Praef.



press themselves, who, to use the words of Horace, *in contraria currunt*. The great Erasmus, who had examined, with the greatest diligence, all the commentaries of the Fathers, and was well able to judge in relation to such matters, wrote as follows, when commenting upon the passage in James iv. 5. : *The later theologians introduce here also a goodly number of interpretations, who, whenever they are deserted by the commentaries, which those have left to us, whom they denominate rhetorical and grammatical writers, appear then in their own character.* But I will be more explicit. We possess, from the hands of the same Erasmus, a paraphrase of the whole New Testament, elegantly worded, as is the case with all the productions of that scholar. Into this he collected whatever of good there was in the commentaries and other discussions of the Fathers, and pertaining to the accurate understanding of those books;—which fact we have been aware of, by a comparison of the remains of Origen with Chrysostom and others whom we have mentioned above, and by other methods. If any one will read this paraphrase, who is acquainted with the works of the later scholars, he will discover, indeed, how little has been added to the ancients by their efforts; nay, how many things have been deteriorated by these later writers. If we had not been much pressed for time, while writing these things, and distracted by many other cares, we should have made the thing plain by a multitude of examples. The student must be contented, therefore, with one. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans xii. 6., recommending sobriety of mind to Christians, delivers a precept to prophets also : εἴτε προφητείαν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως. Origen\* translates this clause in such a sense, that Paul commanded the prophets to be content with the gift which they had re-

\* Commentar. in Matth. p. 255.

ceived, according to the amount of their faith : *if a gift is conferred on any prophet, in the proportion of his faith* (for this *faith* was the measure of grace given from above), *let him be, and continue to be, a prophet* ; and let him not covet other or greater gifts. Let us take a cursory view of the manner in which this interpretation has descended through all the ancient commentaries. In the first place, Jerome, in his Homilies upon this Epistle, receives the clause in the same sense. Hereupon the epitomisers Oecumenius and Theophylact, and, in the Latin Church, Hilary the Deacon and Pelagius, in their notes upon this clause, and the rest of the Fathers, whoever among them approached the passage, followed in the same steps. The same may be said of the ancient Latin interpreters also. For, he who is styled *Italicus*, whose works were used by Hilary, translates the clause *secundum operationem fidei*, expressing the general rather than the literal sense. So also, the Vulgate, as it is called, has *secundum rationem fidei* ; for which, Beza, in his version, but with as little reason as in other cases, adopts the phrase *proportione* : for, the phrase *secundum rationem* denotes the same thing, by a form of speech in use among Mathematicians, from whom the phrase κατ' ἀναλογίαν was taken. Erasmus, of whom I have spoken above, translates, in his paraphrase, the Greek phrase κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, by the Latin phrase *pro modo fidei*. But, as soon as Luther had received the word ἀναλογία, in his German version, in the sense of *resemblance, analogy*, inasmuch as he was more conversant with the schools of the philosophers than with those of the Mathematicians, a new interpretation, concerning a certain *form of doctrine*, which, indeed, in imitation of the philosophers, might be styled, not incorrectly, ἀναλογία πίστεως *analogy of faith*, was introduced into all our doctrinal and ascetical works. But, if the voice of antiquity is to be regarded, this interpretation cannot be

approved. We are not, however, a present, passing sentence, but merely narrating facts, and recommending to the student the use of the ancient commentaries. We must, therefore, confess, that the legitimate hermeneutical treatment of the inspired writings, is very much indebted to Origen, as to its parent; and that, if he was accounted great and worthy of admiration, in his own times, in the allegorical method, he ought to be accounted no less so, by us, in the grammatical department.

## XXXI.

But the ancients inform us, that Origen interpreted incorrectly many passages of the inspired writings. Epiphanius,\* who is lavish of his praises of the *Hexapla*, nevertheless asserts, that the author had done a serious injury to the world at large, *by his erroneous doctrinal views concerning faith, and his mal-interpretation of very many passages of the Scriptures.* I have some doubts, however, whether this censure belongs to his *Scholia* and *Remarks*; although I by no means suppose that work to have been free from faults. To me, indeed, the observation of Epiphanius, and of others who advance similar sentiments concerning Origen, seems referable, more particularly, to his views of theological doctrines, for the confirmation or defence of which, he had abused some passages of the Scriptures, in such a manner, as to give them an undue force, by collecting from them and expressing what they did not contain; as has, from time immemorial, been done by heretics. *His doctrinal discussions about faith,* says an ancient author in Suidas, *are found to be still more absurd than all.* In every other respect, he is much praised by the same writer. Such an interpretation was of things, not of words; doctrinal, and, as it were, logical, but not

\* De Pond. et Mens. c. 7.

grammatical ; as is the interpretation employed by nearly all those who are said to have perverted the meaning of the sacred writings. Those very persons, who are said by Peter, to pervert those things "*hard to be understood*" of Paul, as well as the other Scriptures, perverted *things*, rather than *words* ; as those, for example, who denied that the dead would be raised again to life. For, they did not deny that Christ had expressly spoken of the *resurrection*, nor did they attempt, by means of grammatical interpretation, to elicit any other sense ; but they maintained, that they could not comprehend the thing, and therefore, the *resurrection* was to be understood of a thing already past ; which was the wild dream of persons philosophizing about the thing, and not the mode of proceeding proper for those who interpret the words grammatically. And, if any one prefers to turn his attention to the allegorical interpretations, still, the praise of a grammatical interpreter, is not, on this account, to be denied to Origen. For, allegories belong to the *things*, rather than the *words* ; nor are they sought for, before the sense of the words has been discovered, by means of the arts of the grammarian. In the allegorical commentaries of Origen, are many grammatical interpretations ; and, in general, he does not engage seriously in those allegories, except so far as such a mode of proceeding, as I have remarked above, was believed to conduce to edification. I am not, however, disposed to deny, that Origen pressed the matter too far, through a fondness for allegory ; since, in some passages, he acknowledges no other than an allegorical sense. But, he seems to have come to this pitch of folly, when he was now advanced in years, and after he had bestowed grammatical labour upon the sacred writings ; which folly, while it obscures the glory of Origen, acquired by his other meritorious treatment of the Scriptures, does not, however, entirely extinguish it ; nor does it stand in the



way of his having been the first, in the Christian Church, who introduced the grammatical interpretation of the inspired writings ; and that, too, with great excellence and profit, which we hope we have shown clearly in this discussion.

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In presenting to our patrons these tracts from the pen of Ernesti, we owe, perhaps, an apology for occupying so many pages, in two successive numbers, with a subject which, from the manner in which it is treated, will interest, it may be, but a small portion of our readers.

It was deemed expedient, not to separate these tracts and throw them into several numbers of the work, in order that the view of the subject, taken by the illustrious author, might be presented to the public as a continuous and connected whole.

It should also be remembered, that Ernesti was, perhaps, the first to throw this whole subject into a systematic form, connecting together the various subordinate departments, and showing their mutual relations and dependence, and their comparative importance and difficulty. And these tracts may be regarded as the original germ, or the parent stock, of his own more precise and systematic work, which shortly followed, and of those luminous productions on the subject of *Hermeneutics*, which have adorned this department of Biblical study, and embalmed the names of their authors. In this light, it is hoped, these earlier efforts of Ernesti will be received with some degree of interest, by our literary readers.

As in the other pieces admitted, from time to time, into the Repertory, so also in these tracts, we do not mean to intimate, by the act of insertion, our concurrence with the author in all his principles, or their application. The limitation, necessary



under such circumstances, would be not only prejudicial to the interests of solid learning, but also unjust. And to attempt to guard the text, in every instance, by notes of our own, setting forth our views, or those of our particular Church, would be, as we conceive, to entertain too low an idea of our readers' good sense and discrimination.

The general principles advanced by Ernesti, on this subject, may have received some modification, since his day; and his application of some of them, to individual cases, may not be deemed altogether correct. Still, the views of such a scholar as Ernesti,—at a time when the separate parts of the subject were just beginning to be collected into one consistent and systematic whole; when the partial labours of Grotius, Erasmus, Le Clerc, Wetstein, and Michaelis, had just begun to convince the more intelligent, of the necessity of a more comprehensive and compacted view of the subject of *sacred interpretation*; when, also, the tide was beginning to set full against exegetical study and philological research, and even the studious youth—the hope of the church—were beginning to be infected with sloth and indifference; the views of such an accomplished scholar, if regarded with suitable candour and liberality, must be highly interesting; while the sound, judicious, and practical remarks of this experienced student and teacher, which are scattered throughout the whole, will amply repay the ingenuous reader for the labour of a perusal.

[Tr. & Ed.]



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**Refutation**  
OF THE  
**HYPOTHESIS OF THE PAPISTS,**  
IN RELATION TO THE INTERPRETATION OF  
**THE SCRIPTURES.**

*Extracted from the works of*  
**JOHN ALPHONSO TURRETIN.**

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TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN  
*BY JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER, A. B.*

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**Refutation**  
OF THE  
**HYPOTHESIS OF THE PAPISTS,**  
&c.

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[The following article is an extract from the work of John Alphonso Turretin, *On the Interpretation of Scripture*. The design of the work, as announced by the author, is, 1. To refute false principles and systems of interpretation. 2. To point out and demonstrate the true method. The false hypotheses which he enumerates are four in number, that of the Roman Catholics being the first, which forms the subject of the present article.]

THE first hypothesis is that of the Papists, who regard the Traditions of the Church, the Decrees of Councils, the decisions of the Popes, and the opinions of the Fathers, as the standard of interpretation; and hold that no sense is to be admitted in opposition to this standard; so that however obvious any meaning may appear, it is not to be received, unless sanctioned by the Church.

Their doctrine upon this point cannot be better ascertained, than by a reference to the decree passed at the fourth session of the Council of Trent. The Vulgate is there recognized as an authentic version, after which it is added—

“Præterea ad coercenda ingenia petulantia, decernit Synodus, ut nemo, suæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei et morum, ad ædificationem doctrinæ christianæ pertinentium.



*sacram Scripturam* ad suos sensus detorqueat contra eum sensum, quem tenet et tenuit sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione *sacrarum Scripturarum*; ut etiam contra unanimum Patrum consensum ipsam *sacram Scripturam* interpretari audeat, etiamsi hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in lucem edendæ forent; qui contra venerint, per ordinarios declarentur, & poenis a jure statutis puniantur.”

*“For the restraining of presumptuous dispositions, the Council further ordains, that no one, in reliance upon his own discernment, in matters of faith and life which pertain to the establishment of christian doctrine, shall wrest the sacred Scriptures to an agreement with his private notions, in opposition to the meaning which is held and ever has been held by the holy mother Church, whose prerogative it is to decide upon the true meaning and interpretation of the Scriptures; and also, that no one shall venture to interpret the Scriptures in opposition to the unanimous opinion of the Fathers, even though such interpretations should at no time be publicly promulgated. Let those, who thus transgress, be proclaimed by their Bishops, and punished according to law.”*

Such is the decree of the Council of Trent—a decree, however, which was not adopted without division or dispute. When the subject was first proposed in the council the members divided in opinion upon it. A large number thought with Cajetan, that a new interpretation, if consistent with the text, ought not to be rejected, although the current of Doctors was in opposition to it. Others were of opinion that the liberty of interpretation should be withheld from the people. Even Francis Richard, of Man, denied that it was any longer necessary to look for the doctrines of religion in the Bible. It was sufficient, he thought, to derive them from systems of Theology. This

opinion, also, was strongly supported. Others recommended a middle course. Of this party was Dominic Soto, who was in favour of drawing a distinction between matters of *faith and life*, and the other subjects contained in the Scriptures ; restricting liberty of interpretation in relation to the former, and allowing it in the rest. There were some, too, who maintained the opinion advanced by Cardinal Cusanus in his day—that the Scriptures may be differently explained, at different periods—that the Fathers did no more than interpret to the best of their ability, and that modern christians are at liberty to do the same.

At length, after long debate, the opinion of Cardinal Pacieus prevailed, which excludes all interpretation at variance with the unanimous opinion of the Church. This is the Doctrine expressed in the Decree, and it is easy enough to see with what view such a doctrine was got up. The Reformers used to object to the tenets of the Church of Rome as inconsistent with the word of God. The Papists, not being provided with an answer, to embarrass their opponents devised this plan of taking from the people their right to read the Bible and understand it for themselves. This doctrine the Church of Rome endeavours to establish, both on the authority of Scripture and by dint of argument ; and it has been embraced by all her Doctors in long succession, except some of more recent date, who have abandoned it in practice for sound hypotheses.

To add an expression of our own opinion—we acknowledge that much respect is due, not only to the entire Church, but to its major part ; and that, if any passages of Scripture shall appear to have been always and every where understood in a certain way, we have the strongest reason to regard that meaning as the true one. We grant, moreover, that those assemblies which are called *Councils*, are worthy of reverence ; especially such as appear to have been chiefly composed of learned and pious men ; and that

their expositions deserve our careful attention. We confess, still further, that interpretations proposed by teachers of ancient date, are entitled, from their antiquity, to diligent investigation. We allow, that there are obscure passages which need the elucidation of learned men. We admit, that it is useful and even necessary, that there should be persons in the Church, qualified to act as interpreters ; and, finally, we affirm, that no man has a right to repose an overweening confidence in his own ability to interpret ; and that they are highly culpable, who are bent upon forcing their own notions upon Scripture, as its genuine meaning. But we do deny, that any man, or any council, has, or ought to have, such an authority over us, that we must give up the clear and palpable meaning of a passage, because this Father or that Council has not approved it ; and, on the other hand, that particular interpretations should be received, merely because certain Doctors have been of that opinion. The grounds of our belief are as follows :—

I. The method, which the Papists propose, is much more difficult and intricate than that which consists in meditation on the Bible itself. To investigate the opinions of the Church, and of all its Doctors ; to turn over the acts of every Council, the writings of every Father, is a task beyond the strength, not only of the vulgar, but of the learned themselves. To gain our end we must be able to distinguish spurious from genuine documents, and even in the latter, to detect interpolated passages—a matter of no small difficulty. Besides all this, there are the ambiguities and obscurities of Fathers and Councils to be cleared up—difficulties which arise not always from mere human infirmity, but sometimes from deliberate purpose. The Decree of the Council of Trent, for example, on the subject of grace and predestination, is designedly expressed with such obscurity, that it condemns neither the Dominicans on the one hand, nor the Thomists on the other ; and

two celebrated theologians, Dominic Soto and Andrew Vega, who wrote in 1548, have actually explained the Decree in opposite ways.

It will be said, perhaps, that there is a shorter method of coming at the opinion of the Church universal—that is, by a reference to the opinion of the Church at present. But who knows, in the first place, whether the opinion of the Church is always the same? Or rather, who does not know, that in innumerable instances it has been changed. In the next place, it is not so easy to discover the actual doctrines of the Church. If we side with the Church of France, we must consult the Councils; but the Italian system is much more convenient, for it makes the Pope arbiter of all controversies. But still it may be asked, must we consult the Pope on every difficulty which occurs? If not, then, either every inferior Priest is to be regarded as the organ and oracle of the Church, or else their method of interpretation is far more difficult than ours.

II. An attentive examination of the rule in question will show, that, if literally understood, it is wholly useless and nugatory. For, supposing an interpretation to have been received as true in every age and quarter of the Church, who will call it in question? But how is it to be known, that all Christians, or even that all Churches, have understood the Scriptures in a certain way? It can never be certainly known.

Again, by saying that no sense is to be received but that which is held by the Church, do they mean all Churches, heretical as well as orthodox? If both, the rule is evidently futile, for different sects hold different opinions. If only the orthodox churches be intended, it is equally useless. For, supposing the truth to be ascertained, controversy is at an end.

We are willing, however, to deal candidly with the Papists, and to admit, that this rule, as understood by them,

has a meaning widely different—to wit, that we are to look for no meaning in the Scriptures, but that which is maintained by the Church of Rome. An admirable regulation! It amounts to nothing more nor less than setting up themselves as judges of the meaning of the Scriptures.

III. Admitting the validity of the arguments, by which they attempt to prove, that individuals can never comprehend with certainty the meaning of the Scriptures, independently of the decisions of the Church; it follows, that the authority of the Church itself, can never be certainly established. On what foundation does that authority rest, if not upon the word of God? How, then, can it be proved, that Popes or Councils are the standards of interpretation, if not from passages of Scripture? Individuals must, therefore, determine for themselves the meaning of the passages, which establish the authority of the Church, in order that they may submit to it. Now, if they are able to decide, by their own understanding, upon passages, which are of difficult interpretation, why may they not also decide upon those, whose meaning is much more evident? It is not a very easy matter, for example, to infer the authority of the Pope from the words—"Thou art Peter, &c." It is much easier to infer from Exodus xx. 4, 5, that images are not to be worshipped.

IV. All men are exhorted in the Scriptures to read, meditate, and practice what is there taught or commanded, without waiting for the decision of any superior. Nay, they are required to bring to the standard of the Scriptures the instructions of the most eminent teachers, even the Apostles themselves, though inspired, and endowed with gifts from on high. Passages to this effect are every where to be found. "*Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.*"\* "*Try the Spirits whether they are of*

\* 1 Thess., v. 21.



*God.”\** “*I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say.*”† This is the most important: “*But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.*”‡

Here we say, that believers are required to examine, with care, even the sayings of the apostles, and, consequently, that all men can understand the Scriptures, and need not bind themselves to the opinions of any one. Christ himself, the Teacher of teachers, argued from the Bible, by citing passages demonstrative of his divine mission or his doctrines—a plain proof, that the mass of men can and ought to determine the meaning of the Scriptures for themselves.

V. It is admitted by the Papists themselves, that the Scriptures are the rule of faith and life, the standard to which all teachers should accommodate their doctrines. Now, if the rule of interpretation, which they propose, is a sound one, the Church becomes the rule of the Scriptures—that is, the meaning of the Scriptures becomes subject to its control. But it is absurd that any thing should regulate that by which it is controlled.

VI. According to this hypothesis, the design of God in giving the Scriptures is palpably frustrated. For, what was that design? It unquestionably was, that Divine Revelation might be preserved from the corruptions of human ignorance or wickedness. But, if its meaning is to be determined altogether by oral tradition and the opinion of learned men in different ages, the evil provided against will return. Revelation may with ease be perverted, and its being committed to writing will have no effect in preserving it inviolate and untouched.

\* 1 John iv. 1.

† 1 Cor. x. 15.

‡ Gal. i. 8.

VII. The Papists alone, without our interference, destroy their own rule completely, by disputing among themselves, where the power of the Church is vested, and by whom its oracles are pronounced. Some say that the Popes—others, that the Councils—are the organs of the Church. Which must we believe? The Italians demonstrate, that Councils are not infallible. The French prove, as clearly, that Popes have often erred. Without any attack on our part, therefore, they themselves annul the system of interpretation which is founded on the concurrent judgment of Popes and Councils.

Among those too, at the present day, who pay great deference to the authority of Œcumenic Councils, there are some who admit, that there is no means of distinguishing such Councils from others. Lannoy, in particular, acknowledges the want of a criterion by which these Councils, which alone are regarded as infallible, may be clearly recognised.

Many, also, who stand up for Councils, and admit the authority of the Pope—Holden, among the rest,—confess that their arguments are not always sound, that their expositions are sometimes inadmissible. How this concession is to be reconciled with the doctrine that Councils, or Popes, or the Church in general, are the standards of interpretation, I am unable to perceive.

VIII. The opinion of the Church, in order to be a proper standard of interpretation, should be immutable. It is certain, however, that some modes of interpretation have been in vogue for ages, and then become obsolete. To specify one instance out of many, the doctrine of infant communion prevailed during several centuries, and was supported by this text, “*Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.*”\*

\* John vi. 53.

That this was the meaning usually attached to the passage is evident from the express words of Augustine and Pope Innocent I. The fact is indeed admitted by celebrated writers among the Papists; and Maldonat, in commenting upon the sixth chapter of John, plainly asserts, that the custom, founded on the text in question, continued for six hundred years; after which it was abandoned, and the interpretation abandoned with it. The opinion of the Church, therefore, is not a *sure* standard of interpretation.

IX. To show with how little reason the Papists look up to the Church, or to Councils, or to Fathers, or to Popes, as the standard of interpretation, we need only observe how many absurd, false, and inconsistent expositions have been proposed both by Popes and by the Fathers of the Church. For surely no man, who interprets absurdly, can be considered a competent judge of Scripture.

Many expositions of this kind occur in the acts of the second Council of Nice; where, through a marvellous ignorance of the principles of interpretation, the worship of images is justified by a reference to the following texts from the books of Moses—*Abraham bowed down himself before the people of the land. Moses did obeisance to Jethro. Jacob set up a pillar to God. God wrestled with Jacob, under the form of a man. Jacob kissed the coat of Joseph.* The following passages are then cited from the other books of the Old Testament. *Joshua set up twelve stones. Nathan bowed himself before David. Solomon made cherubim in the temple. The bride saith, Let me see thy countenance. There shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt.* They are not without proof also derived from the New Testament, *No man lighteth a candle and putteth it under a bushel. That they may see your good works. The woman*

\* Psalms xlv. 1.

*touched the garment of Jesus. That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, &c.* But I am ashamed to proceed, the interpretations are so wretchedly unsound. Although, however, they afford no ground for believing, that images ought to be worshipped, they certainly prove that the Councils were miserable expounders of Scripture. Nor let it be supposed, that it is only the Councils of the middle ages, that interpret so admirably. The reasoning of the more ancient is not always the strongest; as, for instance, when they prove the divinity of Christ from the words, *My heart is inditing a good matter*—or from Ps. cx. 3, which they translate, *From the womb I have begotten thee before Lucifer*, whereas the sense of the original is, *From the womb of the morning thou hast the dew of thy youth*. The meaning in the two cases is widely different. Expositions of this description occur on every page.

It is no less certain, that the Popes have not always interpreted aright. It is well known, that Pope Silvius inferred the celibacy of the clergy from Rom. viii. 8, *They that are in the flesh cannot please God*. It is equally notorious, that some of the Pontiffs have supposed their temporal and spiritual authority to be represented and established in the words, *Behold, here are two swords*. It is even believed by impartial judges that several of the Popes have been tainted with heresy. Liberius subscribed the *Arian* formula. Honorius leaned to *Monothelism*. And it is universally known, that some of the Popes have been at variance with each other, on certain points of doctrine. Innocent I. believed the communion of the Eucharist to be necessary to infants. All his successors have maintained the contrary. Gregory I. was in favour of allowing the clergy to marry. All the others forbid it. The same Pontiff denounced, as the forerunner of antichrist, any man, who should assume the title of *Universal Bish-*

op. Yet this very title was assumed by his successor Boniface, and retained by all who followed him.

The same thing may be said of the most noted among the Fathers. It is well known, that the immediate successors of Peter fell into various errors, respecting the marriages of demons and the exploratory fire at the end of the world ; and that Hilary, who has been honoured with the name of *Saint*, denied the reality of Christ's sufferings. It must be admitted, indeed, that from some of them the true meaning of the Scripture may be learned—especially from the Greek Fathers, who were enabled to throw light upon the subject, by a more familiar acquaintance with the idioms of their vernacular tongue. But an attentive inquiry will show, that on the whole, they were wretched interpreters. Of this deficiency the following circumstances may be considered as the cause.

They were all ignorant of the Oriental languages, excepting Jerome and Origen ; and even their acquaintance was partial and imperfect.

They were disqualified for the task by their devotion to the Heathen Philosophy, the mixture of which, with Christian doctrine, led them to seek for philosophical notions in the Scriptures, which, in fact, have no existence there.

From their immoderate love of allegory, they furnish us with little else than frigid conceits and rhetorical figures. Of this Augustine is an example—a man of the first distinction in the Church. Let any one peruse his commentaries on the Psalms, and he will sicken at his pitiful annotations.

A strong capacity and fondness for controversy led them to press any and every text into their service. Jerome himself acknowledges, that there should be a distinction made between their didactic and controversial writings. For, when we dispute, says he, our object is to accumulate authorities, however little they may bear upon the subject. Now, what confidence can we repose in men, who confess, that they wrest the Scriptures to suit their own opinions ?



Finally, they have no regular method. They scrape together, from every quarter, whatever has been said by former writers, however the opinions cited may differ from their own or from one another. Their commentaries may be said to have no fixed design, and to contain nothing that is either definite or coherent.

But while we pronounce this judgment, it is not our design to subject all the Fathers to the same censure. Some are certainly better than others at exposition. Chrysostom, for instance, although he does not expound all parts of Scripture with equal correctness, for he is by no means without his faults, yet may in general be regarded as an able interpreter.

X. We may urge, as an additional argument, the confession of the Fathers themselves, that they were not infallible judges of the meaning of the Scriptures. Several quotations might be made in proof of the fact—one from the nineteenth Epistle of Augustine to Jerome, and one from Jerome himself, who commends Marcella, a Christian woman, because she had not relied wholly upon him for an explanation of the Scriptures, but had carefully weighed even his instructions.

XI. We add what may be regarded as an *argumentum ad hominem*—the fact, that the Papists themselves do not scruple to dissent both from Fathers, Popes, and Councils, when their opinions do not give them satisfaction. Unequivocal evidence might be adduced from the work of Cajetan on the interpretation of Scripture. Melchior Canus is still more explicit. He asserts, that the Fathers are to be read with reverence—but at the same time with discrimination, as being mere men. To these older writers we may add one of more recent date, Elias Du Pin, who advances the same opinion in his “Treatise on the Scriptures.”\* He quotes the decree of the Council of Trent;

\* Lib. 1. cap. 10. 5.

but afterwards insinuates his aversion to it. He says, indeed, that the Decree has reference to innovators ; but that Catholic Doctors are at liberty to seek for new senses. An admirable distinction ! One man, because he is called an *innovator*, is denied the liberty of interpretation, which is enjoyed by another under the name of a *Doctor Catholicus*. It is evident, however, that this writer acted with caution ; for he afterwards refutes the doctrine of the decree, under pretence of explaining it, and shows, that it is in the power of modern commentators to elucidate the Scriptures, that the ancients looked only for allegories, and that consequently we are now at liberty to correct their errors, and supply the defects of their knowledge or understanding.

Having proved, that the general opinion of the Church is improperly set up by the Papists as a standard of interpretation, we must now refute their objections to the opposite hypothesis. A part we have already answered when treating of the Judge of controversies. A few observations only need, therefore, be added, and those relating more immediately to the sense and interpretation of the Scriptures.

Their objections are of two kinds—those derived from Scripture, and those founded upon argument.

The passages, which they adduce, are principally such as follow. They argue, first, from those parts of the Old Testament, where the Israelites are commanded to come to the Priests, when they met with any difficulty.

A passage of the kind occurs in Deuteronomy xvii. 8, 9. "*If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates : then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose ; and thou shalt come unto the priests the*

*Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and inquire, and they shall show thee the sentence of judgment: and thou shalt do according to the sentence, &c."* All these commands are enforced by threats against those who refused, in such cases, to obey the Priests. *The man that will do presumptuously and will not hearken to the Priest that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die, &c.* Deut. xvii. 12. From this passage they infer, that the Priests were to be consulted in religious disputes, and their decisions received upon pain of death.

We answer, first, that there is here, in reality, no reference to the meaning or interpretation of the law (at least to its essential principle) but rather to controverted matters of fact—as, for instance, whether a particular crime had been committed—or to the ceremonial law, as in the 13th chapter of Leviticus. It is there directed, that in order to determine whether a person was polluted with the leprosy, he should be brought to the Priest, for his decision. In the same way the Israelites are commanded to consult the Priest on various similar subjects, not of essential importance. For essential matters needed no explanation. *This commandment which I command thee this day, is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off, a doctrine inculcated by Moses elsewhere.*

But it is evident, that reference is here intended to *civil affairs*, to matters within the jurisdiction of the *civil* magistrate. They were commanded to come, not only to the *Priest*, but also to the *Judge*. This is implied, too, in the expressions *between blood and blood, between plea and plea*. Now it has never been pretended, before, that the *civil Judges* of Israel were infallible.

Finally, it is a certain fact, that the Priests *were not* infallible in matters of faith, and consequently, that the Israelites were not required to yield implicit submission to

their judgments. It is unquestionable, that they frequently erred, and sometimes even fell into idolatry. Proof might be adduced from Jewish history and the Prophecies. A few passages we shall quote. *As the thief is ashamed when he is found, so is the house of Israel ashamed; they, their kings, their princes, their PRIESTS, and their prophets, saying to a stock, Thou art my father \** Here, it is evident, that not only the people but the Priests also are charged with idolatry. From Jer. xviii. 18., it appears that some in those days held the very doctrine now maintained by the Church of Rome—that *Priests cannot err*; and indeed, it was under this pretence of infallibility, that they sought the life of the prophet, saying, *come and let us devise devices against Jeremiah; for THE LAW SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE PRIEST, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet: come, and let us smite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his words.* But there is a passage still more explicit in the seventh chapter of Ezekiel, where it is plainly asserted, that the very event which the Jews regarded as impossible—to wit, that *the law should perish from the Priest*—was then about to happen. *Mischief shall come upon mischief, and rumour shall be upon rumour, then they shall seek a vision of the prophet: but THE LAW SHALL PERISH FROM THE PRIEST, and counsel from the ancients.†* In the twenty second chapter of the same prophecy, it is explicitly said, that the Priests did not interpret the law aright. *Her Priests have violated my law, and have profaned mine holy things: they have put no difference between the holy and profane, neither have they showed difference between the unclean and the clean, and have hid their eyes from my sabbaths, and I am profaned among them.* To these texts many might be added; but

\* Jer. ii. 26, 27.

† Ezek. vii. 26.

there is nothing which shows more clearly how little pretensions the Jewish Priests had to infallibility than their conduct towards Christ. They must have attached an erroneous meaning to the prophecies which foretold him as the Messiah, or they would not have rejected him.

Another passage, which the Papists quote from the Old Testament as an evidence that the interpretation of the law belonged exclusively to the Priests, is Malachi, ii. 7. *The priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts.* The answer is obvious. The duty of the Priests is here undoubtedly defined; but was this duty always discharged? That it was not, is evident from the following sentence, where he upbraids them, because they had *departed out of the way, caused many to stumble at the law, and corrupted the covenant of Levi.*

Some passages from the New Testament also are adduced by the Papists, the greater part of which we have already explained. We shall attend only to one or two others, which they urge with some plausibility, in support of their rule of interpretation. The first is from the history of Philip and the Eunuch of Queen Candace in the eighth chapter of Acts. The latter while engaged in reading Isaiah, falls in with Philip; and to the Apostle's inquiry, whether he understood what he read, replies. *How can I understand, except some man should guide me?* ἐὰν μή τις ὁδηγήσῃ με; This argument is easily answered. The words have reference to the prophecies, which, before their accomplishment, were, of course, obscure, and when read at that period might be regarded as puzzling enigmas. But that which is true respecting prophecy does not hold with regard to all other parts of Scripture. Those which are clear are not to be considered obscure, merely because found in connexion with others which are really so. Besides, the expression which the Eunuch uses is worthy of



observation—ἐὰν μή τις ὁδηγήσῃ με. It is here implied, that interpreters are neither more nor less than *guides*. They *show us the way* to interpret Scripture; and if they do not guide us aright, it is surely wiser to desert them, than to suffer ourselves to be led astray.

Another text, which they bring forward, is 2 Pet. i. 20. *No prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation*—ἰδίας ἐπιδύσεως. This they explain to mean, that every individual is not at liberty to interpret Scripture as he pleases, but ought to follow the public interpretation of the Church. There are many obstacles, however, in the way of our acquiescence in this exposition.

In the first place, the reference in the text is not to all parts of Scripture, but only to the Prophecies, which the Apostle had compared in the nineteenth verse to *a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn*. He is, therefore, speaking merely of prophecy, which, we grant, is obscure before its accomplishment. Even admitting, therefore, the sense which they propose, it will not follow, as they pretend, that all Scripture must be interpreted by the Church.

2. The sense which they propose cannot be reconciled with the language of the text. For in the expression, that *no prophecy is of any private interpretation*, the word *ιδίας* cannot be referred to those who read, so as to mean, that the interpretation of Scripture does not belong to individuals; at least, if we admit the natural import of the terms. It must be referred to the prophecies themselves, so as to convey the idea, that they do not furnish their own explanation.

3. We affirm that the sense which they propose, is at variance with the whole Scriptures, as well as with the doctrine of the Apostles, who exhorted believers to read the Scriptures with diligence, and to judge by that standard even their instructions. The Bereans are commended be-

cause *they searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things, taught by the Apostles, were so* ; And Paul tells the Galatians, that *if he or an angel from heaven, should preach any other gospel save that which had been preached, he should be accursed*—an indisputable token, that the Apostles permitted every man to examine the Scriptures, and interpret it to the extent of the ability vouchsafed him.

4. Our last and principal objection is, that the sense, proposed by the Papists is foreign from Peter's subject. His object no doubt was to confirm the Christian's faith, not merely by an appeal to the miracles and transfiguration of Christ, but also from the testimony of the Prophets. *We have*, says he (in the nineteenth verse), *a more sure word of prophesy ; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed*. Now what connexion with this design has the precept, that prophecy cannot be interpreted by individuals ? None whatever. So far from it, that he actually inculcates attention to the prophecies. But how could such a command be obeyed, if the liberty of interpretation was withheld ? But, supposing that Peter intends to say that the prophecies should be interpreted only by the Church ; what Church does he mean ? Not the Jewish ; for that Church interpreted the prophecies very differently from the Apostles. Not the Christian Church—the Apostles themselves. For his argument would then assume this admirable form : “ You should take heed to the prophecies, that your faith may be confirmed ; but as you cannot interpret them yourselves, you must follow our expositions ” —a doctrine as opposite to the practice of the Apostles, as it is in itself absurd. It is plain, therefore, that the interpretation proposed by the Papists is inconsistent with the design of the Apostle.

It may be asked, however, what is the proper mode of explaining the passage. Upon this point, commentators differ. Some wish to substitute ἐπηλύσεως for ἐπιλύσεως, so as

to express the idea, that the prophecies did not proceed from the private impulse and suggestion of men. But this emendation being supported by the authority of no MSS., and the word ἐπιλύσεως seldom occurring in Greek writers, and never in this sense, the conjecture does not seem admissible. Others, suppose the import of the words ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως to be, that the Prophets did not *open their own mouths*. Others consider the metaphor as derived from the public races, and as importing that the Prophets did not run unsent. But all these interpretations are liable to objection on account of their expressing merely the idea, that the Prophets were not prompted by private impulses. Now this is fully stated in the following verse. The admission of the sense proposed would, therefore, only create a tautology—and one the more unnecessary because this question of inspiration was not a subject of dispute between the Jews and the Apostles. The former were fully persuaded of the fact, that the Prophets were moved by the Holy Spirit.

It is probable that the words ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως refer to the *means* of interpreting the prophecies, and upon this hypothesis may be founded the best explanation of the text—which is, that the prophecies do not contain their own solution, but that it must be derived from some other source, to wit, from the Gospel. This sense harmonizes admirably with the train of the Apostle's observations. For he had said before, that prophecy was like a light shining in a dark place until the dawning of the day, and the rising of the day-star in the heart. Now considering the prophecies as a sort of enigma, which were in themselves unintelligible, and whose explanation was to be derived from the clear daylight of the Gospel, which should succeed the age of prophecy—the ensuing expression is natural and proper. Prophecy is not ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως, that is, cannot explain itself or be comprehended before its predictions are fulfilled, an event which can only occur after the dawning of the Gos-

pel. For this interpretation, which seems so appropriate, we are indebted to the distinguished and learned Werenfels, Professor in the University of Basle, whose dissertation upon the subject is highly worthy of perusal.

Having now refuted the principal objections which the Papists derive from Scripture, we must add a few words respecting their artificial arguments, as they call them—that is, arguments founded on various considerations.

1. They assert, then, that unless the opinion of the Church be implicitly followed there can be no fixed interpretation of the Scriptures, on account of the ambiguous expressions which are to be found in it, and the difficulty of the subjects of which it treats—as well as the prejudices and passions by which interpreters are carried away, and the divisions of sentiment which exist among them—all which are rehearsed with great parade by the author of the work on *Prejudices against the Calvinists*. We answer, first, that all these inconveniences fall back upon the Papists. For how can those passages be interpreted, which establish the authority of the Church, if the meaning of Scripture can be learned only from the unanimous opinion of that Church? Yet surely the authority of the Church should be clearly proved, before we submit to it. And since it can be proved only from passages of Scripture, those passages should be carefully examined, without reference to ecclesiastical decisions. Now if the objections of the Papists are valid, this end could never be accomplished. Besides, if the Scriptures cannot be understood, much less can the acts of Councils and the writings of Popes and Fathers be comprehended. Are there no ambiguities in them? no difficulties? no defects? There are, without number. Admitting, therefore, the truth of their hypothesis, the same evils must recur.

But we answer, directly, that, notwithstanding the difficulties which have been mentioned, all that is essential may

be understood by every man. Fundamental doctrines are so intelligibly taught, and so frequently repeated in various forms, that no one can err respecting them even if he wishes it. Sacred History, for example, which is a considerable part of religious knowledge, is almost universally intelligible. Is there any man who cannot comprehend the account of the Creation, of the Patriarchs, of Christ, of the Apostles? It is plain, that whatever is necessary to be known is intelligibly taught. There certainly are difficult doctrines in the Scriptures; but they are not essential to salvation. Wherever any thing essential to salvation is obscurely expressed in one place, it is more clearly exhibited in another.

II. They object, that, unless their method is pursued, the private opinion of every individual must be considered as the rule of Sacred Scripture; which is absurd.

We deny the consequence. Individual opinion in such a case would no more be the judge of the meaning of Scripture, than in reading a will, we are judges of the meaning of the words in which that will is expressed. We determine the sense of Scripture, it is true. But it is rather by simple perception of its meaning, than in the way of a judicial decision. And there is no absurdity whatever in a person's understanding for himself what is clearly expressed upon paper.

III. They object that the exercise of this right of private interpretation has divided Protestants into parties—different persons, for instance, urging different arguments in proof of the divinity of Christ. We answer, that if the truth be established, it is enough; even though all parts of Scripture be not equally understood. Essential doctrines may be expressed, sometimes clearly, sometimes obscurely; and although in the latter case divisions may arise, it is sufficient that the doctrines are *somewhere* so intelligibly stated, that men may agree respecting them. We may



also retort the argument upon the Papists. How many divisions exist among themselves on important doctrines—nay upon the very same, respecting which they accuse us of differing! How variously do they expound the passages of Scripture which relate to the divinity of Christ! How diverse their hypotheses of grace and predestination! How many different explanations of the subject which lies at the bottom of all interpretation! Some ascribing infallibility to the Councils, and others to the Pope!

IV. Their fourth objection is, that if their rule be rejected, the labours of Councils and eminent commentators would be useless, and the interpretations of the Church without effect. We deny the consequence. Councils and Commentators point out the way to interpret Scripture. Now if they misguide us, must we follow after them, or follow the right path? Their labours are useful aids to our infirmity; but we should avail ourselves of those aids with circumspection. When they continue in the truth, let their guidance be followed. When they wander from it, let them be deserted.

V. Finally, they object, that unless their hypothesis is received, there will be no end to heresy and schism. For if every one is at liberty, they say, to interpret the Scriptures for himself, there will be as many interpretations as individuals, and almost as many sects. From such a state of things nothing can arise but schisms and heresies, anathemas and wars.

We answer, first, that their hypothesis by no means remedies these evils, as we learn from experience—the number of schisms and heresies in Christendom not being the less on account of this mode of interpretation. For they who bring forward doctrines at variance with those generally received, either acknowledge the authority of the Church, or they do not. If not, then this method of following the Church, in the interpretation of Scripture, af-

fords no remedy to the evils above mentioned. If, on the other hand, they acknowledge it, then they differ in their mode of understanding the meaning of the Church itself, and make even its decisions a subject of dispute. This fact is also established by experience.

But to meet the objection directly, we assert, that God, if he had seen fit, might have afforded to man infallible means for the prevention of heresy. But this life is a place of trial. There must be heresi s, that they which are approved may be made manifest. We must conclude, therefore, that it was not the will of God to afford us infallible means for our liberation from all error. He has chosen to give us merely the power of acquiring knowledge—just as he has afforded means for the relinquishment of sin, leaving it in our choice to embrace these means or not; and according to the neglect or use of them, we shall be punished or rewarded.

Finally we may add, that there is a remedy for heresy and schism—an attachment and assiduous attention to truth—a devout mind exempt from the influence of pride, prejudice, or envy—and a pious moderation in matters not essential, leading us to bear with the weak, in obedience to the precepts, and after the example of the Apostles. If this be our rule of conduct, the truth must and will shine forth on subjects of essential moment. Harmony will reign in Christian society, and they who are engaged in the search of truth, will, by their united efforts, assist each other in the work of the Lord.

It ought to be observed, in conclusion, that, with the Papists who interpret Scripture according to the general opinion of the Church, may be classed those among Protestant Christians who recognize the authority and opinions of eminent teachers as regulating the meaning of the sacred Scriptures. It is a notorious fact, that there are many who think it a sin to dissent at all from the opinions of such

men, and look upon those as heretics, who recede from them in the slightest degree. This system is evidently the same as that of the Papists. For if we may depart from the interpretations of Councils and Fathers, what have these Doctors above the ancients, that they are to be regarded as infallible?

They will say perhaps that modern expositions are the best, and should, therefore, be adopted. We reply, that every man professes to be searching for the truth. This is professed by the Church of Rome, and by every individual teacher. But no one should regard his own interpretations as correct, until they have been fairly examined and approved by others. But it may be replied again, these expositions *have* been examined and approved by synods, universities, and similar societies. We answer, that those learned men and those universities examined for *themselves* not for *us*. Every man should rely upon his *own* understanding—unless, indeed, it be designed to introduce a new papacy. We acknowledge, indeed, that received modes of interpretation should not be departed from unnecessarily, and that this when done should be done with caution and moderation. Every novelty should not be seized upon as if its truth were already demonstrated. We ought neither on the one hand to be wanting in respect to our own understanding, nor on the other to employ ourselves wholly in searching for something new. The knowledge of truth should be our only object. When we discover a mode of interpretation therefore, differing from the usual method, it should be proposed with great reserve, as an evidence that we place no overweening confidence in ourselves, but are engaged in a modest inquiry after truth. And if there is a probability, that the new interpretation will be productive of more evil than good, of disturbance rather than edification, instead of being promulgated, it should be passed over in silence. In short, we should act

in reference to this subject, with the utmost liberality, prudence and forbearance.

But it is not to be supposed, that there is no longer room for discovery or occasion for divine illumination. Much was undoubtedly brought to light at the time of the Reformation; and we cannot sufficiently admire the spirit of the Reformers, by which they were enabled to rise so far above the genius of the age, and to extricate themselves from scholastic darkness and its abominable systems. But though they did much, they did not accomplish every thing. At that period a competent skill in oriental learning was impracticable, a corrupt philosophy was universally in vogue, and commentaries, as the necessity of things required, were entirely controversial. Since that time, a clearer light has been revealed. A more extensive knowledge of the Oriental languages, a profounder skill in the art of criticism, a purer philosophy have been disseminated. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that with the aid of these advantages, interpretations should be offered superior to the ancient. And, surely, such ought not to be rejected, merely because they are proposed by moderns.

## Gleanings.

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1. Sources of information concerning the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, down to the year 1697; from the *Classical Journal* for March, 1826. Vol. xxxiii. p. 130.

1. *Pejnerus Sacco*, the inquisitor who was employed against the Vaudois, asserted that the sect of the Vaudois commenced either in the days of the apostles, or of Constantine the Great and Sylvester, in the beginning of the fourth century. He added, *Coram hominibus juste vivunt*. (Leger, pt. 1. p. 183. Usher, p. 151. 210.)

2. *Claudius Seisselius*, Abp. of Turin, and of the Valleys, A. D. 1500, vindicated the morals of the Vaudois. (Ibid. p. 184.)

3. *Thuanus*, A. D. 1560, vindicated their morality. (Ibid. p. 184.) See more testimonies in Leger. (Ibid.)

4. *Centuriatores Mag. elurgenses*, 1569, Cent. xii. p. 1204, de Waldensibus, seu de Pauperibus de Lugduno.

Abp. Usher observes, (p. 156) that this work contains *the most ancient information from Ms.*

5. *Alp. Usher's* work, before referred to, and entitled *De Christianorum Ecclesiarum Successione et Statu*, 1613.

This most important document is the basis both of Leger and of Morland. We should notice particularly, p. 17, where he observes, that there was no need of witnesses before the seventh century, for proof of which he alleges Bp. Jewel's testimony: 'Quod cum ab aliis, tum a Johanne Juello immortalis memoriæ viro luculenter demonstratum.' N. B. This may be true with respect to *doctrine*; but does not apply to *usurpation*. Both Irenæus, Bp. of Lyons, and Hilarius, Bp. of Arles, were witnesses against the claims of Rome to undue jurisdiction, before that jurisdiction was employed to enforce Antichristian doctrine. (Sir I. Newton on Daniel, and Bower's Lives of the Popes.) P. 61. Remarks on the Revelation of Antichrist. Compare Mede on Dan. xii. 11. P. 149. Rev. ii. 24, is descriptive of Popery. P. 151, 210, he properly rejects and refutes the ignorance of those who derive the Vaudois from Peter Waldo. P. 156, he refers us to the Cent. Magd. as above stated.



6. *Perrin's History of the Waldenses and the Albigenses*, 1619. His ignorance of the origin of the Vaudois is corrected by his second English translator. This work is valuable for showing the effect of the persecutions and dispersions of the Waldenses and the Albigenses to have been the diffusion of primitive Christianity throughout Europe. The providence of God particularly in bringing the English, in the time of Edward III., into contact with the Albigenses, deserves special note. This was that dark hour, when "all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones." Wickliff was the most eminent of their converts; but the voice of his thunder was to be sealed. To Perrin, we believe, we are principally indebted for the writings of the Waldenses, bearing date before the time of Peter Waldo.

7. *Sir Samuel Morland's History of the Vaudois*, 1658.

This noble author brings down their history to his own times. He asserts the antiquity of the Vaudois, and alleges the testimonies of Rorenco, prior of Lucerna (1632), that this heresy *continued* to the eighth century.

He maintains that the disciples of Waldo came into the valleys to reside with their brethren. See p. 13 & 27. He adds, that the Belvidere chiefs of the missionaries, having undertaken to show the original of the religion of the Vaudois, were never able to show the very age, even from the days of the apostles, when it was there introduced. All ancient concessions import no more than that they were permitted to continue in the same religion which they had received from their ancestors.

He likewise refers us to a Cambridge manuscript, in proof that their own belief was that they had preserved the gospel from generation to generation, from the days of the apostles.

His inference from the concession of Rorenco, that since that eminent author admitted that their religion continued till the eighth century, i. e. until the time of Claudius Abp. of Turin, in the eighth century, and that his doctrine continued in the ninth and tenth centuries; and that his doctrine continued in the eleventh century, Peter Waldo came into the valleys, where, it is admitted also, they have taught and professed the same ever since,—is, "that the professors of the reformed religion may clap their hands in token of an absolute triumph for ever over all the disciples of the church of Rome, and say that they are now able, manifestly and undeniably to prove the continual succession of their religion from the days of Christ and his apostles down to this present age."

N. B. Primitive Christianity must either have been preserved or restored in the valleys. If *preserved*, as we assert, the cause, for which Protestants plead, is gained; if *restored* by

Claudius or Peter Waldo, as may be objected, we demand, not *assertion* for the fact, but *proof*; and proof too, not from the arguments of the moderns, 'Ἡμεῖς γὰρ κλέος οἶον ἀκουσόμεθ' οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν. but from the testimonies of the contemporaries of the Vaudois in former ages, who wanted neither the will nor the opportunity to disprove the antiquity of the faith of the Vaudois: one thing only they wanted, viz. the possibility of disproving it. Q. E. D.

8. *Jean Leger's History of the Vaudois*, 1669, continuing their history to 1664.

This most complete history of the Vaudois vindicates the antiquity of this church. Pt. I. p. 128. 131. 133. Alleges Thuanus, p. 129, and Luther, p. 130; and Bp. Jewell, p. 133. Brings forward Claudius of Turin, p. 137. Asserts that England was reformed by them, p. 176. States, what we think not improbable, that the year 606 was the true epoch of idolatry and transubstantiation, the abomination of desolation, p. 134, which is confirmed by the Cent. Magd. and asserted by Fleming on the Revelation, who adds that the Latin liturgy was then enforced.

Abp. Usher and Sir S. Morland left little to this eminent author to add to the history, besides a continuation of it to his own times. He has ably availed himself of their researches, and produced the most perfect history of the Vaudois.

9. *Dr. Allix on the Waldenses and Albigenses*, 1690. He proves the apostolical antiquity and primitive faith of both these churches, and demonstrates the regular succession of witnesses in them both. One grand omission, however, is that of Hilarius, Bp. of Arles, with whom both persecution and the times of the Man of Sin commenced. See Mede, Mar., and Sir J. Newton, to whom we most cordially assent. See also Whiston on Rev. xi. 2. for the best judgment on Dr. Allix.

10. *Peter Beyer's History of the Vaudois*, 1692. This author has given us an excellent epitome of the doctrine and history of the Vaudois to his own time. The epistle dedicatory is properly addressed to the Prince of Orange, who was at this time the head and champion of both Waldenses and Albigenses. See Bp. Burnet's Life of Queen Mary, and the History of his Own Times.

He asserts their antiquity, p. 2. He relates their history in a most interesting manner; and all that seems wanting to render this little history complete, is to erase the arguments of the chapters, and every thing like anticipation of success or defeat in the book: for the book abounds with anticipation, the greatest of all faults in an historian. The history of Jayner and Janavel particularly, in the hands of a skilful historian,

might be rendered the most interesting of histories. His reflections also are too often repeated, and he is in too great a hurry to finish his story. This work ought to be the basis of a better written popular work.

In his application of the prophecies he seems to have applied them well to the restoration of a small proportion of the Vauds in 1690. But he has not told us what became of the vast multitude of dried bones, or of the Waldenses and Albigenses every where unchurched from April 1685, to the latter end of 1686. We must therefore have recourse to other sources of information. Bp. Lloyd agreed with him in his application of prophecy.

11. *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, 1695. This great work is second to none in continuing the history both of Waldenses and Albigenses to the author's own times. The precise epoch of the last great persecution by all the Romanists throughout Europe is determined to April or May 1685; the work having been effected in France some months before the formal revocation of the edict: (tome iii. p. 745.) the Waldenses being involved in it, at the very same time. (Bp. Burnet's Travels, p. 65. Compare his History of his Own Times.)

12. *The History of the Persecutions of the Protestants by the French King in the Principality of Orange*, by M. Pine-ton, Pastor of the Church of Orange, 1689. This author justly observes, "that the year 1685 was such an epocha that future ages shall look on it to be the most dreadful that ever happened. It was in that year that the temples throughout France were pulled down, and an universal dispersion of the people into all the parts of the earth. We saw, indeed, our calamity hastening apace; but we never thought that the persecution would be so sharp.

"It was at Easter in the same year that we began to see the distress of the reformed churches in France: those who in the neighbouring provinces had been forbid all public exercise of their religion, came crowding to us for the sake of their devotion. Storms drive not the waves with more fury than this violent persecution threw troubles continually towards us, which at last swallowed us up."—See other authors, relating to the persecution at Orange, referred to in the History of the Edict of Nantes.

13. *M. de Brueys' History of Fanaticism*. This celebrated opponent of Protestantism witnesses, that, from June, 1688 to February, 1689, "enthusiasm spread itself with such a torrent among the French Protestants that a conflagration blown with the wind does not spread faster from house to house, than

this fury fled from parish to parish. Brethren, said the Prophet, amend your lives; repent ye of that great sin ye have committed in going to mass: it is the Holy Ghost that speaks to you through my mouth. They made loud cries for mercy; the hills and all the echoes adjoining resounded with the cry of mercy; with imprecations against the church, the Pope, and against the Antichristian dominion; with blasphemies against the mass, with exhortations to repentance for having abjured their religion, with predictions of the approaching fall of Popery, and the deliverance of the church pretendedly reformed." Compare Bp. Burnet's History of his Own Times, i. 779, and Jurieu's Preface to his work on the Prophecies, 1687, for most important matter.

14. *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, by H. Hallam, Esq. 1818, vol. ii. p. 531. This eminent author, competent if any modern be so, to sum up the evidence for the antiquity and morality of the Vaudois, seals the testimony in these words: "Those who were absolutely free from any taint of Manicheism are properly called Waldenses, a name perpetually confounded in later times with that of Albigenses. These, according to the majority of writers, took their appellation from Peter Waldo; according to others, the original Waldenses were a race of uncorrupted shepherds in the valleys of the Alps, which had shaken off, or perhaps never learned the system of superstition on which the Catholic church depended for its ascendancy. I am not certain that their existence can be distinctly traced beyond the preaching of Waldo, but it is well known that the proper seat of the Waldenses has long continued to be in certain valleys of Piedmont. These pious and innocent sectaries, of whom the very monkish historians speak well, appear to have nearly resembled the modern Moravians. They had ministers of their own appointment, and denied the lawfulness of oaths and of capital punishments. In other respects their opinions probably were not far removed from those usually called Protestants. A simplicity of dress, and especially the use of wooden sandals, was affected by this people. Their innocence is out of all doubt. No book can be written in a more edifying manner than their Noble Lesson."

15. Bp. Burnet's *Essay of Queen Mary*, p. 142: "The refugees of France were considered by her, as those whom God had sent to sit safe under her shadow, and easy through her favour. Those scattered remnants of our elder sister, that had been hunted out of their valleys, were again brought together by their majesties' means. It was the king's power-

ful intercession that restored them to their seats, as well as to their edicts. And it was the queen's charity that formed them into bodies, and put them in the method of enjoying those advantages, and of transmitting them down to future ages. She took care also of preserving the little that remained of the Bohemian churches."

"N. B. During the reign of James II., the persecution which fell on all the Protestants throughout Europe, lighted specially on their elder sisters, the Waldenses and Albigenses. Their churches were unchurched; and their scattered members generally exhibited either a deadness to Protestantism, or actually renounced their former faith, and came over to the church of Rome." (Burnet.)

In 1688, Orange awakened, and the dry bones came together, and life entered into them; as M. Brueys acknowledges. It may be seen in the History of the Edict of Nantes, that their army consisted of the Prince of Orange, Marshal Schomberg, and 300 French officers, all of them Protestant refugees. The numbers of the common soldiers we have not found stated; but a paper published at the time of their landing at Torbay, takes particular notice of their fine appearance.

The most interesting account of this event is found in Bp. Burnet's History of his Own Times. Having ascended the throne of Great Britain, they had to establish the Protestant kingdom by a war, which continued till the close of the year 1697. And this object they effected, as will be seen in *The complete History of England*, and Bp. Burnet's History of his Own Times; and now—

Roma fuit, fuit Othmanides, fuit improbus orbis  
Terrarum, solus regnat in orbe Deus.

(See Daubuz on Rev. xiv.)

In the mean time, in 1690, a remnant of the Vaudois crossed the lake of Geneva, and recovered their ancient seats, as the greater body had before crossed the British Channel. (Boyer, ch. xxvii.)

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II. On *Bibliomancy or Divination by the Bible*; from *Townley's Illustrations of Biblical Literature*. Vol. i. p. 113.

This kind of Divination was named SORTES SANCTORUM, or SORTES SACRÆ, *Lots of the Saints, or Sacred Lots*; and consisted in suddenly opening, or dipping into the Bible, and



regarding the passage that first presented itself to the eye, as predicting the future *Lot* of the inquirer. The *Sortes Sanctorum* succeeded the *Sortes Homericæ*, and *Sortes Virgilianæ* of the pagans, among whom it was customary to take the work of some famous poet, as Homer or Virgil, and write out different verses on separate scrolls, and afterwards draw one of them; or else, opening the book suddenly, consider the first verse that presented itself, as a prognostication of future events. Even the vagrant fortune-tellers among them, like some of the gipsies of our own times, adopted this method of imposing upon the credulity of the ignorant. The nations of the east still retain this practice. The late Persian usurper, Nadir Shah, twice decided upon besieging cities, by opening upon verses of the celebrated poet Hafiz.\*

Superstition, as this practice was, it nevertheless gained ground by the countenance of certain of the clergy, some of whom permitted prayers to be read in the churches for this very purpose.† Others, however, endeavoured to suppress it, for in the council of Vannes, held A. D. 465, it was ordained, "That whoever of the clergy or laity should be detected in the practice of this art, should be cast out of the communion of the church."‡ In 506, the council of Agde renewed the decree; and in 578, the council of Auxerre, amongst other kinds of divination, forbade the *Lots of the Saints*, as they were called, adding, "Let all things be done in the name of the Lord."§ But these ordinances gradually became slighted, for we find the practice again noticed and condemned, in a *capitulary*, or edict of Charlemagne, in 793. In the twelfth century, this mode of divination was adopted as a means of discovering heretical opinions! One *Peter of Thou-louse*, being accused of heresy, and having denied it upon oath, a person who stood near, took up the Gospels, on which he had sworn, and opening them suddenly, the first words he lighted upon were those of the Devil to our Saviour, (Mark i. 24.) "What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth?" Which, says the relator, agreed well with such a heretic, "who indeed had nothing to do with Christ!!"||

*Francis of Assise*, who founded the order of Franciscans, in 1206, says of himself, that he was tempted to have a *book*:

\* Sir W. Jones's Works, *Traité sur la Poësie Orientale*, V. p. 463. 4to.

† Heinault's Chronolog. Abridgment of the Hist. of France, A. D. 506.

‡ S. S. Concilia, Concil. Venet. Anno Christi 465, IV. p. 1057.

Bingham's Antiq. of the Chris. Church, VII. B. xvi. ch. v. p. 278.

§ S. S. Concilia, VII. p. 989.

|| Gataker, Of the Nature and Use of Lots, p. 330.

but as this seemed contrary to his vow, which allowed him nothing but *coats, a cord, and hose, and in case of necessity only, shoes*; he, after prayer, resorted to the Gospel, and meeting with that sentence, "It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given;" (Matthew xiii. 11.) concluded that he should do well enough without books, and suffered none of his followers to have so much as a Bible, or Breviary, or Psalter !!\*

*Bibliomancy* was also practiced, not only in the common occurrences of life, and by private individuals, but by the highest dignitaries of the church, on the most public occasions, and particularly in the *election of bishops*. When a bishop was to be elected, it was customary to appoint a fast, usually for three days; afterwards the Psalms, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Gospels were placed on one side of the altar, and small billets, with the names of the candidates upon them, on the other; a child or some other person then drew one of the billets, and the candidate whose name was upon it, was declared to be duly elected. On one of these occasions, St. Euvert caused a child to be brought, which had not yet learned to speak; he then directed the infant to take up one of the billets, the little innocent obeyed, and took up one on which the name of St. Agnan was inscribed, who was proclaimed to be elected by the Lord. But for the more general satisfaction of the multitude, Euvert consulted the Sacred Volumes. On opening the Psalms, he read, "Blessed is the man whom thou choosest, and causest to approach unto thee, that he may dwell in thy courts." In the Epistles of St. Paul he found, "Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." And in the Gospels he opened upon the words, "Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." These testimonies were accounted decisive in favour of Agnan, all the suffrages were united, and he was placed in the episcopal chair of Orleans, amid the acclamations of the people.† A similar mode was pursued at the installation of abbots, and the reception of canons.

This usage was not confined to the Latins, it was equally adopted by the Greeks. Two facts may prove its existence, and injurious tendency. The first is that of Caracalla, archbishop of Nicomedia, who consecrated Athanasius on his no-

\* Ibid. p. 346.

† Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions: *Recherches Historiques sur les Sorts appeles: Sortes Sanctorum*; par M. l'Abbé du Resnel, XIX. pp. 297, 296. Paris 1753, 4to.

mination to the patriarchate of Constantinople, by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Having opened the books of the Gospels upon the words, "For the devil and his angels;" the Bishop of Nice first saw them, and adroitly turned over the leaf to another verse which was instantly read aloud, "The birds of the air may come and lodge in the branches thereof." But as this passage appeared to be irrelevant to so grave a ceremony, that which had first presented itself, became known to the public almost insensibly. To diminish the unpleasant impression it had produced, the people were reminded, that on a similar occasion, another archbishop of Constantinople had accidentally met with a circumstance equally inauspicious, by lighting upon the words, "There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth," and yet his episcopate had neither been less happy, nor less tranquil than formerly. The historian, nevertheless, remarks, that whatever had been the case under former archbishops, the Church of Constantinople was violently agitated by the most fatal divisions during the patriarchate of Athanasius. The other instance, is that of the metropolitan of Chersonesus, the first prelate consecrated by Theophanes, after his translation from the metropolitan see of Cyzicus to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and who having received the book of the Gospels at his hands, and opened it, according to custom, met with these words, "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch," which were regarded by the public as prognosticating evil to both the patriarch, and the Metropolitan.\*

The Abbé du Resnel informs us, that this custom was continued in the cathedral of Boulogne, and at Ypres, and St. Omer, so late as the year 1744, only with this difference, that at Boulogne, the newly chosen canon drew the lot from the Psalms, instead of the Gospels. The late M. de Langle, bishop of Boulogne, who regarded the custom as superstitious, and perceived, that when the new canons accidentally opened upon passages containing imprecations or reproaches, or traits of depravity, an unmerited stigma attached to their character, issued an order for its abrogation, in 1722. But the chapter, who claimed exemption from Episcopal jurisdiction, treated the order with contempt, and persevered in their superstition, except, that as it had been customary to insert in the letters of induction given to each canon, the verse which had been drawn for him, it should in future be added, that this was done according to the ancient custom of the church of Ter-

\* *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, XIX. p. 303.

ouanne; out of which the churches of Boulogne, Ypres, and St. Omer, had risen, after its destruction by Charles V. "I have in my possession," says the Abbé, "one of these acts, dated in 1720, in which are the following words: *Et secundum antiquam ecclesiæ Morinensis, nunc Boloniensis consuetudinem, hunc ex psalmo sortitus est versiculum: Ipsi peribunt, tu autem permanes, et omnes sicut vestimentum veterascent:* "And according to the ancient custom of the church of Terouanne, (now Boulogne,) this verse was drawn from the Psalms: "They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment."<sup>\*</sup>

Another species of *Bibliomancy*, not very dissimilar from the *Sortes Sanctorum* of the Christians, was the *BATH-KOL*, or Daughter of the Voice, in use amongst the Jews. It consisted in appealing to the first words heard from any one, especially when reading the Scriptures, and looking upon them as a *Voice from Heaven*, directing them in the matter inquired about. The following is an instance: Rabbi *Acher*, having committed many crimes, was led into thirteen synagogues, and in each synagogue a disciple was interrogated, and the verse he read was examined. In the first school they read these words of Isaiah, (ch. xlviii. 22.) *There is no peace unto the wicked:* another school read, (Psalm l. 16.) *Unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?* and in all the synagogues something of this nature was heard against *Acher*, from whence it was concluded he was hated of God!† This species of divination received its name from being supposed to succeed to the *Oracular Voice*, delivered from the mercy-seat, when God was there consulted by *URIM* and *THUMMIM*, or *Light* and *Perfection*, (Exodus xxviii. 30.) a term, most probably, used to express the clearness and perfection of the answers which God gave to the high-priest. The Jews have a saying amongst them, that the Holy Spirit spake to the Israelites, during the tabernacle, by *Urim* and *Thumim*; under the first temple by the prophets; and under the second temple by *BATH-KOL*.‡

\* *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, ubi sup.*

† Basnage's *History of the Jews*, B. iii. ch. v. p. 165, fol.

‡ Lewis's *Antiquities of the Heb. Republic*, B. ii. ch. iii. pp. 112. 114. 198. vol. I.

III. On the *Peshito*\* and other Versions of the New Testament; from *Marsh's Michaelis* Vol. II. pt. I. c. VIII. § VIII.

The *Peshito* is the very best translation of the Greek Testament that I have ever read; that of Luther, though in some respects inferior to his translation of the Old Testament, holding the second rank. Of all the Syriac authors with which I am acquainted, not excepting Ephrem and Bar-Hebraeus, its language is the most elegant and pure, not loaded with foreign words, like the Philoxenian version, and other later writings, and discovers the hand of a master in rendering those passages, where the two idioms deviate from each other. It has no marks of the stiffness of a translation, but is written with the ease and fluency of an original; and this excellence of style must be ascribed to its antiquity, and to its being written in a city that was the residence of Syrian kings. \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* It is true that the Syriac version, like all human productions, is not destitute of faults, and, what is not to be regarded as a blemish, differs frequently from the modern modes of explanation: but I know of none that is so free from error, and none that I consult with so much confidence, in cases of difficulty and doubt.

\* The *ancient* Syriac version. The translation, made under the patronage of Philoxenus, A. D. 508, is styled the *Philoxenian* version. (Ed.)

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IV. *Church Music*; From the Quarterly Theological Review for Sept. 1826. Vol. IV. p. 400.

That we must trace the origin of all Church music to the Jews, or to the Hebrew ritual, seems sufficiently proved by the researches of musical antiquaries; and there can be little reason to doubt, that, in the early Christian Church, the Psalms of David were sung to the very melodies to which they had been associated in the Temple. There is here a chasm in the rigid evidence as to the descent of those melodies to a later age, from the want or the imperfections of musical notation, every where; among the Greeks as elsewhere. Whether they descended traditionally, through the ear, or by a Hebrew notation, or, as is not impossible, by a Greek one, has not been satisfactorily made out; but antiquaries entertain no doubt that the music of the early Latin Church was construct-



ed out of those, by pure borrowing, as well as by copying or imitation. And thus, in the ancient chants still used, as in the Ambrosian and Gregorian music, we may believe that we hear, even now, the melodies of the Hebrew temple.



V. Testimony of Profane Writers to facts recorded by the Sacred Historians; from *Gray's Connexion between the Sacred Writings and Jewish and Profane Literature*. Vol. I. ch. XVI. p. 176.

There are numberless passages in the profane writings of antiquity, which bear a direct testimony to the truth of many facts recorded by the sacred historians. A few only of these need be produced. Many representations, which bear evidence to the creation, the flood, and other particulars which took place in the early ages of the world, have already been brought forward; and many others will be produced in the remarks upon the works of individual writers. Manetho, Berossus, Hestiaeus, Hecataeus, and others relate, that those who succeeded the first man lived to a thousand years, and confirm many other particulars too numerous to mention with respect to the early ages of the world.

Nicolaus of Damascus mentions Abraham as a stranger who had rule in Damascus, to which city he came from Chaldea, and that upon a tumult he went to Canaan, where he had a numerous offspring.\*

Tacitus admits that distinguished cities had been burnt by fire from Heaven on the plains where Sodom and Gomorrah stood.†

Josephus refers to writers who speak of the race of giants‡ in Assyria and Canaan, and Eusebius presents us with passages which repeat accounts concerning them, particularly from Abydenus§ and Eupolemus.||

The passage through the Red Sea was remembered among the people of the Syrian Hierapolis, and is related by Artapanus.¶

\* Euseb. Praep. Evang. Lib. ix. c. 16.

† Hist. Lib. v. § 7.

‡ Lib. v. c. 2. Lib. vii. c. 12.

§ Praep. Evang. Lib. ix. c. 14. Grot. de Verit. Lib. I. note XL. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. vii. c. 16.

|| Praep. Evang. Lib. ix. c. 17.

¶ Euseb. Praep. Evang. Lib. ix. c. 27.

Numberless writers speak of Moses as a distinguished legislator ; some advert to the sublimity of his writings,\* and others describe the excellence and permanent influence of his laws.

Tacitus mentions the Exodus from Egypt, and the abode of the Israelites in the wilderness, but he mingles many absurd reports with his account.†

Menander, relating the acts of Ithobal, King of the Tyrians, mentions the drought which happened in the time of Elias.‡

Josephus, in describing the events of sacred history, repeats, in a continued relation, almost all the leading circumstances which are recorded by Moses, and by the inspired Penmen, confirming his account from time to time, by a reference to other writers ; most of the great events of the Jewish history are thus supported, and with regard to particulars recorded in the New Testament the witnesses are still more numerous.

VI. On the Ordeals of the tenth century. A law of king Athelstan. Extracted from *Johnson's Collection of Ecclesiastical laws*, as cited by *Townley*. Vol. i. p. 314.

As to ORDEALS, we charge in the name of God, and by the precept of the archbishop, and all my bishops, that no one go into the church after the carrying in of the fire, with which the *Ordeal* is to be heated, but the priest, and the person to be tried. And let nine feet be measured out from the stake to the mark, according to the length of the person's foot who is to be tried. And if it be the *Water-Ordeal*, let it be heated till it boils : and if it be a single accusation, let the hand be dipped to the fist only, to take out the stone ; but if the accusation be three-fold, then let it be dipped to the elbow. And when the *Ordeal* is ready, let two of each party come in, to see that it be sufficiently heated, and let an equal number of both sides enter, and stand on each side of the *Ordeal*, along the church, and let them all be fasting, without having been with their wives the foregoing night ; let them humble themselves at the priest's sprinkling the holy water upon them ; and let the priest give them the HOLY GOSPEL.

\* Longinus.

† Hist. Lib. v. § 3.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. Lib. viii. c. 13.

BOOK, and the sign of the holy cross to be kissed. And let no man increase the fire after the consecration is begun; but let the iron lie in the fire till the last collect, then let it be laid on the pillar.\* And let nothing be said, but prayers to God that he may reveal the truth; and let the person accused, drink holy water, and let the hand in which he is to carry the Ordeal be sprinkled with it. Let the nine measured feet, be divided into three parts, containing each three feet. Let him place his right foot at the first mark at the stake; at the second mark let him put his right foot foremost; when he is come to the third, let him throw down the iron. Let him speed to the holy altar, and let his hand be sealed up. On the third day let inspection be made whether there be any filth or not, in the place that was sealed up. If any one break these laws, let the Ordeal be null, and a mulct of 120 shillings be paid to the king.†



VII. Lectures in Paris. German Universities. Asiatic Society. Prof. Tholuck. From a manuscript letter from an American to a gentleman in Princeton, dated Paris, Jan. 29, 1827.

De Sacy lectures three times every week on Arabic, and three times on the Persic. His method does not differ from the ordinary manner of hearing a recitation with us. His class, which does not consist of more than seven or eight, read the *Coran* on one day, and a part of his *Chrestomathia* on the others. He does little more than explain the force of the words, and any difficulties which may occur in the grammatical forms or constructions. He is very particular and very attentive, devoting upwards of two hours to each exercise. Besides this, Prof. Cuisin lectures on the Arabic Grammar three times a week. Lectures are delivered upon almost all the Eastern languages—Sanskrit, Chinese, Bengalee, Hindostanee, &c. All these, as well as the instructions in the sciences, law, and medicine, are public and gratuitous. There is a great difference between the lecture-rooms of the Professor of Chemistry, and Professor of Hebrew, the latter having two, and the former two thousand, hearers.

\* *Super Staples*. Some supporter made of stone or iron, from whence the person to be tried was to take the hot iron into his hands. *Johnson*.

† If there was any matter or corruption, the person was condemned as guilty; if there was none, or the priest could see none, he was acquitted. *Johnson*.

‡ Johnson's Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, &c. II. A. D. MCCCXXV.

I have attended the meetings of the Asiatic Society, which consists of forty or fifty near-sighted Orientals, of whom De Sacy is the President. It was an amusing sight to see every man with the paper or book he wished to read, almost in immediate contact with his face. The worthy President is as remarkable for the shortness of his sight as for the depth of his knowledge. The proceedings of this Society having no connexion with Biblical subjects, are not to me very interesting.

Goettingen has suffered very much of late, in the death and sickness of its Professors. Staeudlin is dead, Eichhorn superannuated, and Planck "is in ruins under the epilepsy." At Halle, as I am informed, more attention is paid to Biblical literature, than at any of the other Universities. It has also the great advantage of having Tholuck within its walls, who is as much distinguished for his piety as for his learning. I have seen a little work of his on the theology of the ancient Persians, which states in the title page, that the materials were derived from Arabic, Persic, and Turkish MSS, in the royal library of Berlin. As Tholuck is at present not more than eight or nine and twenty, he must have published that work when he was about twenty four or five ! I have also seen a treatise of his to show that Christ is the centre, sum and key, of the Old Testament. He has also written a work, which has produced a great impression, on the doctrine of redemption.

## Literary Intelligence.

We are authorized to state that the translation of Jahn's *Introduction to the Old Testament* by Samuel H. Turner, D. D. and William R. Whittingham, will be put to press in about three weeks, and may be expected by the end of June or some time in July.

*Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits*, addressed to a student of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. by Samuel Miller, are nearly through the press, and may be expected in about one week.

*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, is in preparation by Professor Stuart, of Andover, Mass.

We are authorized to state, that the publication of this work has been delayed, chiefly because the Author found it indispensably necessary, to devote much time and labour to the *Historical and Critical Introduction*. The works of Dr. Schultz of Dessau, and of Dr. Seyffarth, calling in question the Pauline origin of the Epistle, have had so great an influence in Germany, that Mr. S. feels himself bound to attempt a refutation of their arguments, the most formidable of which are the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα and the ἅπαξ λογιζόμενα of this Epistle. The *Introduction* is now nearly completed.

We believe that no one who loves this study, and duly estimates its importance, will regret the delay, if thereby the authenticity of this Epistle be substantiated by a purely American scholar.

“The Traveller Schulz, has now in the press a Greek Testament, containing various new readings, and fixing only two recensions, the Κοινή ἑισθεσίς and Alexandrine, which will, when published, subvert a great part of Griesbach's theory.”

*Class. Journ. June, 1826.*



## New Publications.

A popular Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, designed for the use of mere English readers. In two parts. Part I.—Rules for reading the Bible. Part II.—Helps toward a right understanding thereof; comprising Introductions to the several Books; a Summary of Biblical Antiquities, Geography, Natural History, &c. By William Carpenter. Editor of the *Critica Biblica*, *Scripture Magazine*, *Calendarium Palestinae*, &c.

Essay on the Hebrew characters used at the time of the Patriarchs, and in the succeeding ages By M. Giuseppe Vigerano. Reggio. (An Italian work.)

The Gospel of St. Luke; with English Notes. By the Rev. J. R. Major, B. A. of Trin. Coll. Camb.

Origin of Expiatory Sacrifice. By George Stanley Faber, Rector of Long Newton. London, 1826.

Illustrations of Paley's Natural Theology, with descriptive Letter-press. By James Paxton, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London.

Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical; delivered in Essex street Chapel. By Thomas Belsham London, 1826.

*The following Remarks are from the Quarterly Theological Review for Sept 1826, p. 334.*

“The objections of Mr. Belsham and his adherents, to the atonement, seem to be a sort of à-priori objections; God *could not* require an atonement for sin, because he is *compelled* by the very kindness and tenderness of his divine nature, to forgive the sins of men, *without an atonement*. Now, how does Mr. Belsham know this! surely it ought at least to be set aside with those important matters, which at present we “have not faculties to explore.” Not so with Mr. Belsham; he is one who would have made Job stare; he is one, who has “by searching found out God; he has found out the Almighty to perfection!” he knows that he is not only “Love,” as John says, but “*All Love*,” that this attribute is so prevailing, as to swallow up every other attribute; and yet perhaps he may be wrong after all; himself being judge. For though he tells us over and over again, that he knows God will forgive sin without an atonement; entirely “for his great name’s sake, and for his infinite mercy’s sake, and because he delighteth in mercy,” p. 64, yet in p. 27, he tells us, “Adequate ideas upon these subjects it is indeed impossible for beings whose faculties are so limited as those of men, to form;” and seems quite to agree with the patriarch Job, that no “finite being *can com-*

prehend the Almighty to perfection." How are we to reconcile these things? The Unitarians must admit, that they claim to know God *negatively*, if they do not know him positively, when they oppose the doctrine of atonement, and other doctrines, steadfastly believed by a large majority of Christians, as manifestly inconsistent with the very nature of God. That God is Love, we admit as well as they, but we conceive that his infinite purity, and infinite justice, may serve to explain to us, how an atonement for sin, may have been absolutely requisite, in the great scheme of Christian salvation; but Mr. Belsham, as we observed before, thinks the love of God is an overwhelming attribute, and that the Scriptures represent it to be so."

The Difficulties of Romanism. By George Stanley Faber, B. D. Rector of Long Newton. London, 1826.

It appears that the Bishop of Aire, a much respected Prelate in the South of France, had published, in the Spring of 1825, "*An Amicable Discussion respecting the Anglican Church in particular and the Reformation in general*," in the form of Letters to an English Traveller. This work, in consequence of the well known urbanity and exemplariness of its Author, made a powerful impression upon the travelling English laity, whose purses are generally somewhat longer than their heads. In the midst of this perplexity, a copy was forwarded to Mr. Faber, who had recently displayed his skill at starting *Difficulties*. Mr. Faber's mind had been occupied, for some time previously, with the subject of *The Claims of the Latin Church*. He adopts, accordingly, the views and statements of the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome, presented by the Bishop, as most likely to be authentic and acquiesced in by his Church generally, and thinks it fair to use the *Amicable Discussion* as the text book of his refutation. 4

It had appeared to Mr. F., to use his own words, "that, on all the great leading points of divinity, those who conversed with the apostles, and those who lived nearest to the times of the Apostles, must best have known the mind of the Apostles." He found, upon a careful perusal of the Bishop's *Amicable Discussion*, that the drift of his argument was as follows: "Those who conversed with the Apostles, and those who lived nearest to the times of the Apostles, must best have known the mind of the Apostles. With these primitive theologians, the Church of Rome agrees, and the Church of England disagrees. Therefore the former must teach the truth, while the latter teaches falsehood." Mr. F. and the Bishop join issue therefore upon a mere matter of fact, "whether the doctrines

and practices of the Roman Church, as propounded and explained and vindicated by the Bishop of Aire himself, have or have not the unbroken sanction of all primitive antiquity."

In conducting the discussion, he endeavours to point out, in the first place, the *Difficulties* which meet the Church of Rome, on the score of her peculiar doctrines and practices, historically considered, viz. *Infallibility, Tradition, Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, Satisfaction, Indulgences, Purgatory, Prayer for the Dead, Invocation of the Saints, Worship of Relics, Veneration of Images, Adoration of the Cross*; and, in the second place, the *Difficulties* she has to encounter in substantiating her claim of *universal supremacy*; and closes with a valedictory to the worthy Bishop.

This amiable Prelate, at least as cited by his antagonist, censures the Reformation, advocates the cause of the Inquisition, protests against freedom of religious worship, proposes a plan of union between the Church of Rome and the Church of England (according to which he would have the latter to submit, unconditionally, to the commands of the Church of Rome, because of the immutability of her religious principles,) and ascribes the continuance of the Church of England in this miserable state of separation, to the profound ignorance of her present clergy.

Remains of the late Rev. Charles Wolfe, B. A. Curate of Donoughmore; with a brief Memoir of his Life. By the Rev. J. A. Russel, M. A. Second Edition. London, 1826.

A Treatise on the Evidence of Scripture Miracles. By John Penrose, M. A. formerly of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London, 1826.

A New Version of the Psalms of David. By Matthew Sankey, Esq. London, 1826.

The Temptations of Jesus Christ in the Wilderness, explained as symbolically representing the trials of the Christian Church. By George Miller, D. D. London, 1826.

Recensio Synoptica Annotationis Sacrae, being a Critical Digest and Synoptical Arrangement of the most important Annotations on the New Testament, exegetical, philological, and doctrinal; carefully collected and condensed from the best Commentators, both ancient and modern, and so digested as to form one consistent Body of Annotation; in which each portion is systematically attributed to its respective Author, and the foreign matter translated into English. The whole accompanied with a copious Body of original Annotations. By the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, M. A. Vicar of Bisbrooke, in Rutland, &c. London, 1826.

The Laws respecting Pews or Seats in Churches. Compiled by H. S. English, Attorney. London, 1826.

The Old Testament, arranged on the basis of Lightfoot's Chronicle, in Historical and Chronological Order. By the Rev. George Townsend, M. A. Prebendary of Durham, &c. London, 1826.

The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, during the reign of King Henry the Eighth. By Henry Soames, M. A. Rector of Shelley, Essex. London.

The Connexion between the Sacred Writings and the Literature of Jewish and Heathen Authors, particularly that of the Classical Ages, illustrated, principally with a view to Evidence in Confirmation of the Truth of Revealed Religion. By Robert Gray, D. D. Second Edition. London.

This work has been some time before the English public, but we have reason to believe it has not been seen by many of our readers. We venture to subjoin an abstract of its contents.

The main scope and design of the Author is to point out the influence of Revealed Religion (taking the term in its widest acceptation), upon the History, Philosophy, Morality, Theology, Poetry, Arts, and Sciences, of the ancient nations ;—to trace the streams back to the fountain ;—to establish an indubitable *Connexion* ;—and to prove, that the glorious Light originally emanated from God, and diffused itself gradually throughout every region, modifying the views and colouring the principles of Philosophers, Poets, Statesmen, and Historians, and, although in some instances strangely perverted, confirming the truth of facts recorded by the sacred Historians.

In the first volume, he endeavours to discover among the Heathens, traces of the most prominent historical facts and doctrines of Sacred Writ—*the Creation, the Deluge, the Origin of Man, the Fall, the Immortality of the Soul, Atonement for Sin, Expiatory Sacrifices, Rewards and Punishments, &c. &c.*

In the second volume, he subjects the Classical writers of Greece and Rome to a rigid examination, in order to ascertain their indebtedness to Revelation, separating the original from (in his estimation) the borrowed matter, with the design of proving “that the Hebrews drank of the fountain, the Greeks of the stream, and the Romans of the pools ;” or, as some of the Fathers supposed, that “all the knowledge of the Heathens is a mere transfusion of revealed information.”





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## BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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WE venture to present to our readers, in the present number, a specimen of the Patristic Theology and Eloquence. Some articles will be furnished, *now and then*, from this venerable source.

We also thought it desirable, to bring to a more perfect close, the translation from Herder's Dialogues, which was broken off, somewhat abruptly, on page 545 of Vol. II.

For the insertion of the Tract by Tholuck, we trust no apology need be offered, but the *importance* of the subject, and the *reputation* of its author.

It gives us pleasure also to announce to our patrons and readers, that arrangements were made some months past, to procure, for the use of the editorial department, a number of European periodical publications, of which we hope to avail ourselves in the future numbers, in addition to those already accessible. We shall thus be enabled to present, from time to time, a view of the current Biblical and Theological literature of the day.

The foreign periodical publications to which we now expect to have access, are the following:—1. Allgemeines Repertorium der neuesten in-und auslaendischen Litteratur. 2. Goettinger Gelehrte Anzeigen. 3. Haller Literaturzeitung. 4. Kritisches Journal fuer das Katholische Deutschland. 5. Bibliographie de la France. 6. Bibliothque Universelle. 7. Effemeridi Letterarie di Roma. 8. Baptist Magazine. 9. Jewish Expositor. 10. Methodist Magazine. 11. British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record. 12. Classical Journal. 13. Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature and Arts.

ADVERTISEMENT.

We hope to be able, by *republications* and *gleanings* from the above works, to furnish the readers of the Repository with the most interesting and the latest information, on subjects connected with Biblical and Theological study.

We hope also, that our *serious* and *conscientious* readers will remember, and act as if they realized it, that in order *to feed*, we must *be fed*;—that money is the sinews of *literary enterprise* as well as of *war*;—that printers must be kept *in a good humour*; publishers must be kept *out of debt*, and editors must be kept *IN SPIRITS*;—all which is hopeless without a strictly conscientious punctuality on the part of subscribers.—(*Temporary Editor.*)

July 3, 1827.

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Exhortation to the Greeks,

BY

**JUSTIN THE MARTYR.**

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,

BY J. ADDISON ALEXANDER.

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## Exhortation to the Greeks,

&c.

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IN beginning this exhortation to you, O Greeks, I pray God that I may be enabled to address you as I ought ; and that you, laying aside your wonted spirit of disputation, may at the same time abandon the errors of your fathers, and embrace at length more profitable doctrines. And think not, that by thus rejecting the false belief of your ancestors, and adopting contrary opinions, you will be guilty of any irreverence to their memory ; since accurate research, by revealing more clearly the nature of things, often demonstrates the fallacy of doctrines, which presented before the exterior of truth.

The question, which I design at present to consider, is this—WHAT IS THE TRUE RELIGION ?—the most momentous question, as it appears to me, that can be proposed to beings who look forward in hope to a state of future felicity. Its importance arises from the fact, that after death there is a judgment—a doctrine not peculiar to our faith, but taught also by those whom you call wise, by your Poets, and, which is more important, by your masters of genuine and elevated philosophy. Such being the object of our inquiry, let us first ascertain, who were the earliest teachers of our religion and of yours ; what were their characters, and at what periods they lived. I would investigate these facts, in order that, by viewing the faith which you have inherited and profess, as it really is, you may be induced to abandon it ; and that it may at the same time be clearly seen, that in belief and worship we are indeed the followers of holy men of old.

To whom then do you appeal as the teachers of your

religion? To the poets? A reference to their authority will meet with no flattering reception among those who are familiar with their writings, and know any thing of the ridiculous doctrine of *Theogony* or *generation of the gods* there taught. Let us gather a few of their theological principles from Homer, the first and greatest of them all. By him we are taught that the race of the gods had its origin in *water*.

Ὠκεανόν τε Θέων γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,\*

The parent of the gods  
Oceanus, and Tethys his espoused,  
Mother of all.†

As to Jupiter, the supreme Deity, whom he repeatedly calls the *Father of gods and of men*, we are told that he is the steward or dispenser of wars upon earth,

Ζεὺς ὅς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται,‡

\* \* \* \* Jove,  
Dispenser of the great events of war—

and, as if not satisfied with thus making him a *ταμίης* to mortal armies, he represents this same deity, as instigating, through the agency of his daughter, a breach of truce on the part of the Trojans.§ He is also exhibited to us in love, in affliction, and in danger from a conspiracy of the other immortals. On one occasion, we find him thus bewailing himself on account of his son Sarpedon,

ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα, φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν,  
Μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο δαμῆναι,||

Alas for my beloved son, my own  
Sarpedon! whom the fates ordain to die,  
Slain by Patroclus!—

\* Iliad, xiv. 302.

† Cowper.

‡ Iliad, xix. 224.

§ Iliad, iv. 60—100.

|| Iliad, xvi. 433.

on another, lamenting, in like manner, the condition of Hector,

ὦ πόποι, ἦ φίλον ἄνδρα διωκόμενον περὶ τεῖχος  
'Οφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμαι, ἐμὸν δ' ολοφύρεται ἦτορ—\*

Ah, I behold a warrior dear to me  
Around the walls of Ilium driv'n, and grieve—

The story of the famous *Plot* is simply this—that,

μιν ξυνδῆσαι Ὀλύμπιοι ἤθελον ἄλλοι,  
'Ηρῃ τ', ἡδὲ Ποσειδάων, καὶ Πάλλας Ἀθήνη,†

Once the gods,  
With Juno, Neptune, Pallas at their head,  
Conspired to bind the Thunderer,

and, had not these *blessed gods* been afraid of one Briareus, would have succeeded in the attempt.

The extent of his libidinous indulgences may be learned from his own address to Juno,

Οὐ γὰρ πώποτε μ' ὦδε θεᾶς ἔξρος, ἐδὲ γυναικὸς,  
Θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς ἐδάμασσεν, (κ. τ. λ.)‡

For never goddess poured, nor woman yet  
So full a tide of love into my breast;  
I never loved Ixion's consort thus  
Who bore Pirithous, wise as we in heaven;  
Nor sweet Acrisian Danaë, from whom  
Sprang Perseus, noblest of the race of man;  
Nor Phœnix' daughter fair, of whom were born  
Minos unmatched but by the powers above,  
And Rhadamanthus; nor yet Semele,  
Nor yet Alcmena, who in Thebes produced  
The valiant Hercules; and though my son  
By Semele were Bacchus, joy of man;  
Nor Ceres, nor Latona, nor—thyself,  
As now I love thee.

\* Iliad, xxii. 168.

† Iliad, i. 399.

‡ Iliad, xiv. 315

From Homer we may also learn something of the character of the other gods, and the sufferings which they endured at the hands of men. Both Mars and Venus, he informs us, were wounded by Diomedes, and similar evils are also described as having been inflicted upon many other of the deities, as we may perceive from the consolatory speech of Dione to her daughter,

Τέτλαθι, τέκνον ἐμὸν, καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ,  
Πολλοὶ γὰρ ὃν τλήμεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες (κ. σ. λ.)\*

My child, how hard soe'er thy sufferings seem,  
Endure them patiently, since many a wrong  
From human hands profane the gods endure—

\* \* \* \* \*

Mars once endured much wrong, when on a time,  
Otus and Ephialtes bound him fast,  
Sons of Aloëus, and full thirteen moons  
In brazen thralldom held him.

\* \* \* \* \*

Nor Juno less endured, when erst the bold  
Son of Amphytrion with trident shaft  
Her bosom pierced; she then the mis'ry felt  
Of irremediable pain severe.  
Nor suffered Pluto less, of all the gods  
Gigantic most, by the same son of Jove  
Alcides, at the portals of the dead  
Transfixed and filled with anguish, &c.

The following description of a battle between the subordinate deities, is from the same poet.

Τόσσος ἄρα κτύπος ὤρετο θεῶν ἔριδι ζευγόντων, (κ. σ. λ.)†

With such a sound,  
The powers eternal into battle rushed—  
Opposed to Neptune, sovereign of the waves,

\* Iliad, v. 382.

† Iliad, xx. 66.



Apollo stood with his winged arrows armed ;  
To Mars, Minerva ; to Jove's awful spouse  
Diana of the golden bow ; \* \* \* \*  
So gods encountered gods.

Such are the doctrines which are taught with reference to the Deity, not by Homer alone, but by Hesiod also. If then, you choose to rely upon the authority of these celebrated poets, who have given us the genealogy of the gods, you are reduced to the necessity of believing, either that the gods whom you worship are such as we have just seen them described, or that they are no gods at all.

But you will perhaps decline an appeal to the authority of the poets, on the ground of that license, which they are permitted to use, of embellishment and fabrication, even respecting the Deity himself. If so, to whom will you refer me, as the teachers of your religion? And, whoever they are, by what means do you suppose them to have acquired the knowledge which you thus attribute to them? For I hold it to be impossible, that any man whatever should have an intimate acquaintance with a subject so vast and elevated, without previous instruction. You will, no doubt, mention your sages and philosophers, for, I am well aware that you always fly to them as to a place of refuge, when the absurdities of your poets are exposed. Beginning, then, with the most ancient of these wise men, I shall lay before you the opinions of each, and show them to be far more ridiculous than the Theology of the poets themselves.

Thales, of Miletus, who may be regarded as the father of Natural Philosophy, considered *water* as the principle of all things ; believing that from it they had at first proceeded, and into it would be finally dissolved. After him, Anaximander, also of Miletus, taught that the principle of all things is *infinity* ; that from it they arose at first, and

into it would be again annihilated. Anaximenes, a third Milesian, declared *air* to be the universal principle, in which all things had their origin and end. It was supposed by Heraclitus, of Metapontum, to be *fire* ; by Anaxagoras, of Clazomene, *similitude of parts* ; and by Archelaus, the Athenian, an *unlimited atmosphere*, with its attributes of density and rarity. All these, in regular succession from Thales, pursued the study of what they called Natural Philosophy.

Turning to another school, we find Pythagoras, of Samos, laying down as principles, *number*, and its proportions, the combinations of which it is susceptible, and the elements thus composed ; together with *Unity* and undefined *Duality*. Epicurus, of Athens says, that the elements of all things are certain substances, perceptible only to the mind, incapable of a vacuum, uncreated, indestructible, indivisible, admitting neither change of form nor combination of parts. Empedocles of Agrigentum taught the existence of four elements, *Fire, Air, Earth, and Water* ; and two active principles, *Affinity* and *Discord*, the one having a conjunctive, the other a disjunctive power.

From this view you may perceive the utter confusion of opinion among those whom you are accustomed to call *wise*. One declares the principle of all things to be *water* ; another, *fire* ; another, *air* ; and another, something else. Each, too, uses all his powers of persuasion and eloquence, to establish the truth of his own false hypothesis, and to prove its superiority to every other. Now how can it be safe for those who desire salvation, to depend for religious instruction upon men, who could not so far persuade themselves as to avoid a total difference and even contrariety of opinion ?

It may, however, be objected by those who are unwilling to abandon ancient errors, that religious instruction is to be derived, not from the sages whom I have mentioned, but from those most illustrious and virtuous of all philoso-

phers, Plato and Aristotle, who, they say, possessed a clear and perfect knowledge of the subject. I would gladly learn, in the first place, from whom that knowledge was derived, it being impossible, as I have already said, that, without instruction, they should understand the matter themselves; much more, that they should be able to teach it aright to others. In the next place, I shall examine the respective opinions of the philosophers cited, that we may see how far they are consistent; for a want of agreement, I conceive, will be a sufficient proof of the ignorance of both.

Plato, with the manner of one who had descended from heaven, and was accurately acquainted with celestial things, asserts, that the essence of the Deity is *fire*. Aristotle, in a compendious view of his philosophical opinions, contained in his discourse to Alexander of Macedon, openly and explicitly denies this assertion of Plato, saying, that the essence of God is not *Fire*, but a certain fifth substance, ethereal and immutable, which he creates for the occasion. His words are these: "The essence of God is not *fire*, as some foolish speculators on the divine nature have asserted." Then, as if not satisfied with this insulting reflection upon his master, he brings forward as a witness, to prove the existence of his *ethereal substance*, Homer, whom Plato had excluded from his republic as a liar, and, as he expressed it, an imitator of imaginary things.

The verse cited by Aristotle for the purpose is this :

Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' ἔρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσι. \*

The heavens,

The clouds, and boundless æther, fell to Jove.

He seems not to have been aware, however, that if the poet could thus be cited as a witness in his favour, his tes-

\* Iliad, xv. 192.

timony might with equal propriety be employed to prove many of his doctrines false. For example, Thales, of Miletus, the first Natural Philosopher, might upon the same principle disprove Aristotle's notion respecting first elements. The latter regarded *God* and *matter* as the principles of all things ; but Thales had, long before, assigned the same place to *water*, believing that from that substance all things had been originally generated, and into it would ultimately be dissolved. He founded this hypothesis on the fact, that the presence of water is essential to the generation and subsistence both of animals and plants.

But, as if not satisfied with these grounds of conjecture, he adduces the testimony of Homer :

Ὠκεανὸς, ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.\*

Ocean, Sire of all.

Now, might not Thales very justly say to Aristotle : How is it, that when attempting to disprove some doctrine of Plato, you consider Homer as a competent witness, but when desirous of refuting my opinions, will not admit his testimony ?

But that this is not the only point on which these admired philosophers are at variance, we may learn from the following facts. Plato asserts that the principles of all things, are three: GOD, MATTER, and FORM ; *God*, being the creator ; *matter*, the subject and the occasion of creation ; and *form*, the model upon which every thing is made. Aristotle makes no mention of *form*, as a principle, but enumerates only two, *God* and *matter*.

Again, Plato asserts that the supreme Deity and the *forms* above-mentioned reside in the immoveable sphere of the highest heaven. Aristotle places next to the supreme Deity, not these *forms* but certain θεοὶ νοητοί, or *gods comprehensible by the understanding*.

\* Iliad, xiv. 246.

Such is their discrepancy of opinion respecting celestial affairs. And, indeed, how can those who know so little of things on earth as to differ wholly respecting them, be worthy of our confidence when they tell us of things in heaven? That these philosophers so differed, is evident from their conflicting accounts of the human soul. Plato informs us that the soul consists of three distinct parts, *reason*, *passion*, and *appetite*. Aristotle asserts, that it is not so much extended as to embrace in it corruptible particles, but consists of *reason* alone. Plato vehemently declares, that every soul is immortal. Aristotle affirms it to be endowed with a natural tendency to perfection, but regards it as perishable. The one says that it is perpetually in motion; the other, that it is immoveable, being prior to all motion.

Thus far we have seen them at variance with each other. A little attention will show, that the writings of neither are consistent with themselves. Plato, at first, enumerates three universal principles: *God*, *Matter*, and *Form*; but afterwards makes them four, by the addition of what he calls a *universal soul*. He first declares matter to be uncreated, and afterward, to be created. He first asserts *Form* to be independent in its origin and existence; and afterwards, that it exists only in the conceptions of the mind. He first affirms, that whatever had a beginning may have an end; and afterwards, that some created things may possibly be indissoluble and incorruptible. Now to what cause can we ascribe the fact, that these men whom you regard as sages, differ so widely, not only from one another, but even from themselves? To nothing but their unwillingness to learn from those who really knew, and from their imagining that by the power of human intellect they could acquire a knowledge of celestial things—even when they knew nothing aright of things upon earth.



Some of your philosophers teach, that the soul is *in* the body ; others, that it is *about* it. For they are so far from being in unison upon this point, that they seem to have divided their ignorance into shares, and to have deliberately resolved on disagreement and dispute respecting the nature of the soul. By one we are told, that it is *fire* ; by another, *air* ; by another, *thought* ; by another, *motion* ; by another, *exhalation* ; by another, an *influence proceeding from the stars* ; by another, *number, endued with the power of motion* ; and by another, the *generative fluid*. Such is the dissonance and confusion of opinion which prevails among them, none of them deserving any applause, unless it be for the successful efforts of each to convict the rest of ignorance and falsehood.

Since then, there is no genuine knowledge of religion to be derived from the writings of your teachers, their disagreement furnishing a demonstration of their ignorance, let us now turn to *our* progenitors—to men, who in point of time, were far before the Greek philosophers ; who taught nothing from the suggestion of their own imaginations ; who neither disagreed nor endeavoured to refute each other's doctrines ; but in perfect consistence with themselves and harmony with one another, derived their information immediately from God and imparted it to us. For, a knowledge of things so elevated and divine must be revealed to us, not by the efforts of unassisted human reason, but by a supernatural gift descending from heaven upon holy men. To such men, there can be no need of rhetorical art, or of a talent for argumentative and controversial address. They have only to yield themselves free from impurity to the energies of the spirit of God, that the divine impulse of which I have spoken may act upon them as upon the strings of a lyre or harp, and through them instruct us in divine and heavenly things. It is thus, that we have been taught as with one mouth and a single

tongue, though by men who lived in times and places widely different, respecting the creation of the world, the origin of our race, the immortality of the soul, and the judgment after death; in short, respecting every thing, the knowledge of which is essential to our happiness.

I shall begin with Moses our first lawgiver and prophet, and demonstrate his antiquity from evidence, which even you cannot call in question. For, I shall not rely wholly upon our own sacred histories, which your attachment to the error of your fathers will prevent your believing, but upon records of your own, entirely unconnected with our religion. From their testimony you will be convinced, that all your sages, poets, historians, philosophers, and lawgivers, were long posterior to the first teacher of our faith. By them Moses is mentioned as having been a lawgiver in the days of Ogyges and Inachus, who are supposed by some of you to have sprung from the ground. This statement is made by Polemon, in the first book of his History of Greece; and Appion, in his work upon the Jews, and again in the fourth book of his History, relates that during the reign of Inachus, at Argos, the Jews, under the command of Moses, rebelled against Amasis, king of Egypt: which statement is confirmed in all points by Ptolemy Mendesius, in his history of that country.

Moses is also mentioned, as an ancient and primeval leader of the Jews, by the Athenian historians, Hellanicus, Philochorus, Castor, Thallus, and Alexander Polyhistor; as well as by those able Jewish annalists, Josephus and Philo; the former of whom entitles his work, "*The Antiquities of the Jews*," intending to express by that name the ancient date of the events which it records.

Diodorus, also, your most eminent historian, who wrote his forty books, as he informs us, after having abridged whole libraries, traversed Europe and Asia for thirty years, and surveyed in person, many of the things

which he describes—states it as a fact which he had learned from the Egyptian Priests, that Moses was the most ancient of all lawgivers. The following are his words: “After the state of things which is fabled to have existed in Egypt under the gods and heroes, the first who persuaded the multitude to submit to written laws was Moses, a man still remembered on account of his greatness of spirit and excellence of life.” And again, a little afterwards, when enumerating the most ancient lawgivers, he begins with Moses, saying that “he was called a god by the Jews, either on account of the benefits which it was supposed the people would derive from his wonderful and even god-like genius, or because it was believed, that a reverence for the dignity and power of the lawgiver would induce the multitude to respect the laws themselves. The second Egyptian legislator, it is said, was Sauchnis, a man of eminent wisdom. The third was Sesonchosis, who is celebrated, not only for having performed more signal military exploits than any other Egyptian, but for the greater achievement of subjecting a warlike people to the government of laws. The fourth recorded is Bochoris, who was remarkable both for wisdom and ingenuity. The next, who is said to have given his attention to the subject of government, is Amasis, who created the office of Nomarch and established the whole municipal system of Egypt. The sixth, who is recorded as a lawgiver to the Egyptians is Darius, the father of Xerxes.”

Such is the testimony of men wholly unconnected with our religion, respecting the antiquity of Moses; the facts having been derived as they themselves inform us, from the priests of Egypt, where Moses was not only born, but educated in all the learning of the country, being thought worthy of that distinction on account of his adoption as the son of the king's daughter. The Jewish historians, Philo and Josephus, in treating of his actions and the dig-

nity of his birth, inform us, that he was of Chaldean extraction, his forefathers having been compelled by a famine to emigrate from Phœnicia into Egypt. There he was born ; and an account of his eminent virtues thought worthy by God of being appointed the commander and lawgiver of his peculiar people, when he should think proper to conduct them from Egypt into their own country. To him the divine gift of prophecy was first imparted ; and he was designated by God to be the first teacher of the true religion. In this office he was succeeded by the other prophets, who received the same gifts and gave the same instructions. These are the men whom we acknowledge as the teachers of our religion ; teaching, not of human wisdom, but by the immediate gift of God. But as for you, since your attachment to hereditary error forbids your depending upon these, to whom will you turn as the teachers of your faith ? From what has been said, it is sufficiently clear that the writings of your philosophers contain nothing but ignorance and deception. You will, therefore, I suppose, relinquish them, as you before relinquished the poets, and betake yourselves to the delusion of oracles. I have indeed heard as much from some of you. Let me then, remind you of some facts which I have learned from yourselves upon this point.

An oracle,\* being questioned by an individual—it is your own tradition—what men had ever been truly pious, returned this answer,

Μουνοῖ Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἡδ' ἅς Εβραῖοι,  
 Αὐτογένητον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἄγνως·

“Wisdom has been attained only by the Chaldees and Hebrews,  
 Who worship in purity God the self-existent King.”

\* The Clarian Oracle, which commenced its responses a century before the Trojan War,

Now, believing as you profess to do, that a knowledge of the truth may be derived from oracles; and knowing from the testimony of historians who did not believe in our religion, that Moses (as well as the other prophets) was, both a *Chaldee* and a *Hebrew* by descent—you cannot think it strange, that, being sprung from a race emphatically pious, and living worthily of his hereditary belief, he was favoured by God with this extraordinary gift, and selected to be the first of all the prophets.

I think it necessary, also, to inquire, in this place, at what time your philosophers lived, that you may be sensible of their modern date, and perceive at once the comparative antiquity of Moses. As I would not, however, in treating of those times, be guilty of wasting my own by adducing a superfluity of evidence, I shall content myself, with the few facts which follow. Socrates was the teacher of Plato, and Plato of Aristotle. These flourished in the age of Philip and Alexander of Macedon, and were contemporary with the Athenian Orators, as we learn from the *Philippics* of Demosthenes; and that Aristotle resided with Alexander after his accession to the throne, is asserted by all the historians of his reign. It is evident, then, on all sides, that the most ancient of all histories are the books of Moses. Nor ought the fact to be overlooked, that, before the first Olympiad, there was no Grecian history in existence, and, indeed, no ancient writing whatever giving an account of either the Greeks or Barbarians. The only history extant, was that which Moses wrote by divine inspiration, in Hebrew characters. For those of the Greeks were not yet invented; your own grammarians informing us, that Cadmus first brought them from Phœnicia and introduced them into Greece. Plato, indeed, your greatest philosopher, asserts, that their invention was still more recent. He states in his *Timæus*, that Solon, the wisest of the wise men, on his return from Egypt, repeated to Cri-



tias the following words as having been spoken to him by an Egyptian Priest, and that not a very old man—"O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children. A Greek never grows old;"—and again, "You are all children in understanding; for you are possessed of no ancient traditional knowledge, nor any learning that is hoary with age. Of this you are destitute, because all the generations before you have perished without the knowledge of letters." It is evident then, that all the Grecian histories were written in a character of modern invention; and if any one will refer to the ancient lawgivers, poets, and philosophers, he will find them all to have employed the same. It may however be objected by some, that perhaps Moses and the other prophets made use of these characters also. Let such consider the following facts, as they are proved by the testimony of profane historians.

Ptolemy, king of Egypt, having founded a library in Alexandria, and collected books for it from every quarter, was informed, that there were certain ancient histories which had been carefully preserved in the Hebrew language. Being curious to know the subject of these books, he sent for seventy learned men from Jerusalem, well acquainted with both the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and employed them in translating them. In order that they might be able, by freedom from interruption, to perform their task more speedily, he caused to be erected, about seven stadia from the city, at the place where the Pharos was built, as many small houses or cells as there were translators, so that each might labour by himself. The persons, who were appointed to attend them, were commanded to supply all their wants; but at the same time to prohibit all intercourse, that the accuracy of the versions might be known from the degree of coincidence between them. When, therefore, he learned, that the seventy men had not only agreed entirely in sense, but had used precisely the

same language, not differing in so much as a word, he was struck with astonishment, and believed the translation to be effected by the power of God. Thinking its authors worthy of all honour as men enjoying the favour of the Deity, he loaded them with gifts and dismissed them to their own country, while the books were consecrated and carefully preserved. You are not to regard this statement as a fiction. I myself, when in Alexandria, saw the remains of the seventy cells in the Pharos, and learned from the inhabitants, who had received it from their fathers, all that I have now related. The same facts are recorded by those able and respectable historians, Philo and Josephus, as well as by many others.

It may however be objected by some disputatious spirit, that these books belong, not to us, but to the Jews, since they have been preserved in their synagogues; and that we cannot justly lay claim to them as the oracles of our religion. Let such learn, from the contents of the books themselves, that the doctrine which they teach, is the doctrine of the Christians, and not of the Jews. And as to the fact, that the books of our religion have been preserved among the Jews, it is to be regarded as a dispensation of Providence in our favour. Had they been at first brought forth from our churches, a plausible pretext would have been furnished to our enemies for accusing us of fraud. But now, proceeding as they do, from the Jewish synagogues, where they have from the first been preserved, the application of what is there written by inspired men to us and our doctrines, is more palpable and striking.

Looking forward, now, into futurity, and contemplating the certainty of a final judgment, which has been taught both by our holy men, and by profane philosophers, you ought not surely without investigation to adhere to the error of your fathers, and to receive all that they have ignorantly handed down to you, as truth. On the contrary,

considering the danger of your being finally disappointed in your hopes, you should diligently examine what may be learned even from those whom you acknowledge as teachers, who have been compelled against their will, by a providential influence, to bear testimony upon many points in our favour. This is especially true of those who visited Egypt, and experienced the benefits to be derived from the religion of Moses and his ancestors. For it can scarcely have escaped such of you as have read the histories of Diodorus and others, that Orpheus, and Homer, and Solon the Athenian lawgiver, and Pythagoras, and Plato, and several others who visited Egypt and derived instruction from the books of Moses, afterwards retracted their former false opinions respecting the gods. As to Orpheus, who may be called the first teacher of polytheism among you, it may be proper to add what he afterwards addressed to Musæus and his other children :

Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι  
 Πάντες ὁμῶς· σὺ δ' ἄκουε φρασφόρου ἔκγονε μήνης,  
 Μουσαῖ' ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθεα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν  
 Ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρῃ.  
 Εἰς τε λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τέτῳ προσέδρευε  
 Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖτ' ἐπὶ βαινέ  
 Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἀνακτα.  
 Εἰς ἔστ' αὐτογενῆς, ἐνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,  
 Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περιγίγνεται· ἔδὲ τις αὐτὸν  
 Εἰσορᾷ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντα ὁρᾷται  
 Οὗτος δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι  
 Καὶ πόλεμον κρυόνετα, καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόνετα.  
 Οὐδέ τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος.  
 Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὀρώω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.  
 Πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσιν ἐν ὄσσοις,  
 Ἀσθενέες δ' ἰδέειν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα.  
 Οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται

Χρυσέω εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίης δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε,  
 Χεῖρά τε δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέγματος ὤκεανοῖο  
 Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὖρεα μακρὰ,  
 Καὶ ποταμοὶ, πολὺς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.

"I will speak to those to whom it is allowed. Let the uninitiated be excluded: Listen thou, Musæus, child of the shining moon, while I utter the truth, nor let that which has before been infused into thy breast, deprive thee of thy precious life. Behold the divine Word, and give thyself wholly to it, ordering aright the intelligent receptacle of thy heart. Come up hither, and contemplate the sole King of the universe. He is one. He is self-existent. He alone created all things, and all things are pervaded by him. To mortals he is invisible, though he himself sees all things. Though good himself, he gives evils to his creatures, bloody wars, and lamentable sorrows, and besides him there is no supreme king. I cannot behold him; for clouds are round about him, and the mortal pupils of mortal eyes are unable to look upon the ruler of the universe. He is established above the brazen heavens. He sits upon a golden throne and treads with his feet upon the earth, and stretches out his right hand to all the ends of the ocean. Then the lofty mountains tremble, the rivers, and the depths of the hoary sea."

and again, in another place he says—

Εἷς Ζεὺς, εἷς Αἰὶδης, εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος,  
 Εἷς Θεὸς ἐν πάντεσσι· τί σοι δίχα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύω ;

"Jupiter is one, Pluto one, Sol one, Bacchus one, one God in all. Why do I tell you this again?"

again—

Οὐρανὸν ὀρκίζω σε Θεοῦ μεγάλου σοφοῦ ἔργον,  
 Αἰδοῖν ὀρκίζω σε πατρός, τὴν φθγγέξατο πρώτων,  
 Ἦνικα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἑαῖς στήριξατο βουλαῖς.

"I swear by thee, O heaven, the work of the wise and mighty God! I swear by thee, word of the Father, which he uttered at first, when he established the Universe in his counsels."

Now what is his meaning in the expression

Αὐδὴν ὀρκίζω, &c. ?

He no doubt uses the word αὐδὴ to express the Λόγος or Word of God by whose agency, as we learn from our own sacred prophecies, the creation was accomplished. Those prophecies he also perused when in Egypt, and learning from them this truth, that the universe was created by the Word of God, he says,

Αὐδὴν ὀρκίζω σε πατὴρ, τὴν φθέγγετο πρῶτον,

and immediately adds,

Ἦνικα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἑαῖς στηρίζατο βελαῖς.

That he uses αὐδὴ instead of λόγος merely on account of the measure of his verse, is evident from the fact, that a little before, where the metre permits, he uses the proper term,

Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τάτω προσέειπεν.

It will here be proper to inquire, what was taught respecting the one only God, by the ancient Sibyl, who is mentioned as a prophetess by Plato, Aristophanes, and many others.

Εἷς δὲ Θεὸς μόνος ἐστὶν ὑπερμεγέθης, ἀγέννητος,  
Παντοκράτωρ, ἀόρατος, ὁρῶμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα,  
Αὐτὸς δ' ἔβλεπεται θνητῶν ὑπὸ σαρκὸς ἀπάσης.

"There is one, only God, supreme and self-existent; almighty, invisible, himself beholding all things, but not perceptible to mortal flesh."

and again,

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἀθανάτῳ τριβὺς πεπλανημένοι ἤμεν  
Ἔργα δὲ χειροποίητα γεραίρομεν ἄφρονι μύθῳ  
Εἰδῶλα ξοάνων τε καταφθιμένων τ' ἀνθρώπων.



"We have wandered from the path of immortality, and madly worshipped the graven images of mortal men."

and again,

\*Ολβιοι ἄνθρωποι κῆνοι κατὰ γαῖαν ἔσονται,  
 'Οσσοι δὲ στέγξουσιν μέγαν Θεὸν εὐλογέοντες,  
 Πρὶν φαγεῖν πίειν τε πεποιθότες εὖσεβήσιν.  
 Οἱ νηοὺς μὲν ἅπαντας ἄπαρνήσονται ἰδόντες,  
 Καὶ βωμοὺς, εἰκᾶα λίδων ἀφιδρύματα κωφῶν,  
 Αἷμασιν ἐμψύχων μεμιασμένα καὶ θυσίαισι  
 Τετραπόδων, βλέψουσιν ὁ ἐνὶς Θεοῦ ἐς μέγα κῦδος.

"Happy shall those men be upon the earth, who shall delight in praising God, and performing the duties of religion, more than in eating and drinking; who shall look down with contempt upon temples and altars, and the worthless shrines of senseless deities, stained with the bloody sacrifice of living things—and shall have regard only to the supreme glory of the One God."

So far the Sibyl. Homer, abusing his license as a poet, and copying the early errors of Orpheus respecting polytheism, sings of a plurality of gods—and this merely in imitation of the older poet, his admiration for whom may be learned from the first verse of the Iliad. Orpheus begins his poem in these words,

Μῆνιν ἄειδε Θεὰ Δημήτερος ἀγλαοκάρπου—

Homer in these,

Μῆνιν ἄειδε Θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλλῆος.

In this case, the latter seems to have preferred a gross violation of the rules of metre\* in the very beginning of his poem, to the imputation of having first introduced the gods by name. He afterwards, however, very clearly reveals his own opinion respecting the existence of one only God; as where he introduces Phoenix saying to Achilles,

\* Didymus observed and recorded three errors in prosody in the first verse of the Iliad; and the circumstance is also mentioned by Plutarch. (Tr.)

—Οὐδ' εἰ κέν μοι ὑποσταίῃ ΘΕΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ,  
 Ἰῆρας ἀποξύσας, θήσιν νέον ἡβώνοντα.\*

No, not if Jove himself

Would promise, reaping smooth this silver beard,  
 To make me downy-cheeked as in my youth,—

where, by the use of the pronoun αὐτός, he seems to design a reference to the really existing God. And again, where he represents Ulysses saying to the Grecian multitude,

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω.†

Plurality of Kings

Were evil. One suffices.

In which passage his design is to show the evil of such a plurality from the wars, dissensions and mutual conspiracies, which it must necessarily occasion, and the tranquillity which, on the other hand, characterizes a monarchy.

Such are the doctrines of the poet Homer. If the testimony of the drama is also required, let us listen to the words of Sophocles :

Εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ἔστιν Θεός,  
 "Ὅς ἔβρανόν τέτευχε, καὶ γαῖαν μακρὰν,  
 Πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἶδμα κἀνέμων βίας.  
 Θνητοὶ δὲ πολλοὶ καρδίῃ πλανώμενοι,  
 Ἰδρυσάμεσθα πημάτων παρὰ ψυχὴν,  
 Θεῶν ἀγάλματ' ἐκ λίθων τε καὶ ξύλων,  
 Ἥ χρυσοτεύκτων ἢ ἐλεφαντίνων τύπους  
 Θυσίας τε τούτοις καὶ καλὰς πανηγύρεις  
 Τεύχοντες, ἔτως εὐσεβεῖν νομίζομεν·

"There is in truth but one, one only God,  
 Who built the skies and framed the mighty globe.  
 Spread ocean's wide expanse, and formed the winds ;  
 But superstitious man, in madness rears,  
 Of wood, or stone, or ivory, or gold,  
 Emblems of other gods ; upon their shrines  
 Offers his prayers and gifts—and calls it worship."

\* Iliad ix. 445.

† Iliad ii. 204.

Pythagoras, who taught the principles of his philosophy by means of mystic symbols, seems also to have imbibed correct ideas of the Deity, when in Egypt. For by saying that the principle of all things is *μόνας* or unity, and describing it as the cause of every thing good, he appears to teach allegorically the truth that God is ONE and ALONE. This would seem to be his meaning from his afterwards asserting that there is a wide difference between *μόνας* and "Εν, the former, as he says, pertaining to things comprehensible by the understanding, the latter simply to numbers. If you wish to know more clearly the doctrine of this philosopher, respecting the Deity, you may gather it from his own words.

"God is One. He is not, as some suppose, without the limits of creation, but, being complete in himself, is present throughout the circle of the universe, surveying all his works. He unites in himself all periods of time, and is the author of all his own powers and actions. He is the universal principle. He is unity. He is the light of heaven, the father of all things, the mind and soul of the universe, the moving power of all spheres."\*

It is probable that Plato also became acquainted, while in Egypt, with the doctrine of Moses and the other prophets, respecting the unity of God. The fate of Socrates, however, gave him reason to dread, that some Anytus or Melitus might arise and accuse him to the people, as a curious speculator who denied the gods acknowledged by the state. Through fear of the hemlock, therefore, he deals out his doctrine on this subject in a disguised and fantastic form,

\* 'Ο μὲν Θεὸς εἷς· αὐτὸς δὲ, οὐχ, ὥς τινες ὑπονοῶσιν, ἐκτὸς τῆς διακοσμῆσις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅλος ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κύκλῳ ἐπισκοπῶν πάσας τὰς γενέσεις ἐστίν, κρεῖσσις ἐὼν τῶν ὅλων αἰώνων καὶ ἐργάτας τῶν αὐτῶν δυναμίων καὶ ἔργων, ἀρχὰ πάντων, ἐν, ἐν οὐρανῷ φωστήρ, καὶ πάντων πατήρ, νοῦς καὶ ψυχῶσις τῶν ὅλων, κύκλων ἀπάντων κίνασις.

saying that there are gods to those who believe there are gods, and none to those who think there are none. He at first states, that whatever is created is mortal; but afterwards asserts, that the gods are created. Now since he considered *God* and *matter* as the principles of all things, he must, of course, have believed the gods to be material. But what may be the character of deities, proceeding from matter, which he regarded as also the source of evil, he leaves to the determination of the wise. His object in representing matter as uncreated seems to have been this, that he might avoid making God the author of evil. Respecting the inferior gods created by the supreme Deity, he speaks thus in the person of the latter—"Θεοὶ Θεῶν—the gods of gods, whose creator I am." It is evident, however, that he had a correct notion of the true God. He had learned in Egypt that when God was about to send Moses to the Hebrews, he said to him Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὦν. Now he justly concluded that God did not reveal this as an ordinary proper name; for it is impossible that any such name should be applied to the Deity. Names are used for the purpose of indicating and distinguishing the many and various objects to which they are applied. Now there was no pre-existent being by whom such a title could be imposed upon God, and he saw no reason to assume one himself, because being one and alone it could not be necessary for the purpose of distinction. This doctrine of his unity he teaches us himself by the mouth of his prophet. "*I am the first, and I am the last; and beside me there is no God.*"\* As I said before, therefore, he did not reveal, when about to send Moses to the Hebrews, any personal name or title belonging to himself, but by means of the participle employed, mystically taught that he was the one only God, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὦν, thus placing himself as the existing God, in opposition to those who had no existence, that he might teach those who had been deluded into idolatry that the objects

\* Isaiah xlv. 6.

of their worship had been not real but imaginary gods. God well knew that mankind would preserve the recollection of the deceit practised upon their progenitors by the enemy of their race, when he said, "If you will obey *me*, and transgress the commandments of God, *ye shall be as gods.*" This the fiend said, for the purpose of leading men to believe, that there were other gods besides the supreme Deity, and that they themselves might possibly become such. It was on this account, that the Lord announced himself to Moses as 'Ο ὦν, that the very terms employed might express the difference between the God who really is, and the false gods who have no existence. Now when man had yielded to the persuasions of the demon and violated the precepts of his Maker, and in consequence had been expelled from Paradise, he carried with him the recollection of those *gods* of whom he had heard, not having yet been taught the impossibility of a plurality of gods. For it was not just, that they who had broken the first command imposed upon them and one so easily observed, should in return receive an increase of knowledge ; but rather, that they should suffer condign punishment. When therefore they were expelled from Paradise, they imagined that they were punished merely for the violation of the precept, and not also for believing in the existence of gods who had really no being. Under this delusion, they transmitted to their children the names of these unreal deities. This false imagination, therefore, respecting a plurality of gods had its origin with the father of lies. Now God knowing that this absurd belief adhered like a disease to the soul of man, and wishing to eradicate it, when he first appeared to Moses, said, 'Εγώ εἰμι ὁ ὦν. And it seems to me to have been highly proper that he, who was to be the leader and lawgiver of the Hebrews, should be the first to know God as the truly existing Deity. To him, therefore, revealing himself, so far as it was possible to



mortal sight, he said, 'Εγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν; and on giving him his commission to the Hebrews, he commands him to say, "Ο ὦν sent me unto you."

Now all this Plato had learned in Egypt, and was no doubt captivated with the doctrine of the unity of God. But from a dread of the Areopagus, he did not think it safe to mention Moses, as the teacher of the doctrine, among the Athenians. The doctrine itself, however, he well explains in his elaborate work *Timæus* (which is the first of his theological writings), not as derived from any other source, but as a conception of his own. He uses indeed the very same expression as Moses: "For I think," says he, "that we ought first to inquire what that is which always exists (τὸ ὄν ἀεί), but was never created, and also what that is, which is created, but never exists." Now are not these expressions precisely the same, excepting in the gender of the article? Moses says 'Ο ὤν—Plato, τὸ ὄν. Both are evidently applied to the eternal God. For there is none but he that always exists and is yet uncreated. And if we inquire what it is which is put by Plato in opposition to that which always exists, as being created yet non-existent, we shall find him plainly asserting that this uncreated being is eternal, while the created gods whom he had mentioned before are finite and perishable. "The former," says he, "may be conceived by the understanding as consistent with reason, the latter are conceivable only by the imagination with a perception of their absurdity, as things which had a beginning and were created, yet have never existed." By these words the philosopher must certainly be considered as annihilating or denying the existence of these created deities. It is necessary also to remark this circumstance, that Plato speaks of the supreme Deity not as the ποιητής but the δημιουργός of these gods. Now there is a considerable difference between the import of these terms. The former signifies one, who, without depend-

ance upon any other being, of his own power and authority, makes what he does make—the latter, one who derives his power of creation from the matter upon which he acts.\*

Some, however, who still adhere to the principles of polytheism, will cite, in opposition to what has been said, the following address of Plato's Θεὸς Δημιουργὸς to the gods created by him. "Since you are creatures, you are not absolutely immortal or imperishable. But you shall not die nor be annihilated, being secure from both by a stronger bond, [than the necessity of your nature]—my will." Here, it must be confessed that Plato's dread of his countrymen has led him to subject his supreme God to the charge of inconsistency. He had before introduced him as asserting, that whatever had a beginning may have an end; and now he makes him assert the contrary, not seeming to be aware, that by so doing he would infallibly expose himself to the charge of falsehood. Either his first or his last statement must be untrue. For if that which is created, is from the necessity of its nature perishable, according to his first position; how can that which is of necessity impossible in any way become possible, as he afterwards asserts? It is in vain therefore that Plato would magnify the Deity by ascribing to him an impossible power—that of rendering immortal and imperishable, beings, which, according to his own doctrine, are mortal and perishable, because material and created. Matter, according to Plato's doctrine, being uncreated, and also contemporary and coeval with the creating power, it is possible, that it may resist his will. For even a creator can exercise no authority over that which he did not create. It is not, therefore, capable of being acted upon by violence, being free from all extrinsic necessity. With reference to this

\* In other words, the one creates out of nothing, the other out of matter already in existence.—(Tr.)

principle, Plato himself says, "God cannot be acted upon by violence."

Now how is it, that Plato excludes Homer from his republic because the latter represents Phœnix as saying,

Στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ Θεοὶ ἀντροί,\*

The Gods themselves are flexible,

when it is evident that the poet is speaking, not of the King, or (as Plato calls him) the creator of the gods, but of the inferior deities whom the Greeks regarded as very numerous, as we may learn from the expression Θεοὶ Θεῶν, which is applied to them. To the one, supreme God, Homer ascribes authority and power over all things in his story of the golden chain ;† and he seems to have regarded him as so far removed above the other deities, that he sometimes speaks of the latter in conjunction with men ; as in the speech of Ulysses to Achilles, in allusion to Hector,

Μαίνεται ἐκπάγλως πύσυνος Διὶ, ἐδὲ τι τίει

Ἀνέγας ἐδὲ Θεοῦς.‡

Hector glares revenge, with rage  
Infuriate, and by Jove assisted, heeds  
Nor *God* nor man.

Here Homer seems to me to express the ideas of the true God, which he, like Plato, had imbibed in Egypt. His meaning seems to be, that Hector, confiding in the really existing God, disregarded those which had no existence. In another passage already quoted, by the use of a different but equivalent expression, substituting a pronoun for Plato's participle, he calls Θεὸς αὐτὸς, what Plato calls τὸ ὄν. For I think that this expression of Phœnix has an emphatical import, the pronoun being intended to

\* Iliad, i. 493.

† Iliad, ix. 294.

‡ Iliad, ix. 238.

show that the reference is to the really existing God. The same language is used with the same view, in the response of the oracle mentioned before.

Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον ἡδ' ἄρ' Εἰβραῖοι  
 Ἀπογένηστον ἀνακτα σεβάζόμενοι Θεὸν αὐτὸν.\*

Again, how can Plato censure Homer for asserting, that the gods are flexible, when he evidently uses the term in a good sense [i. e. speaks of it as a useful attribute]? We know that those who are desirous of propitiating the Deity by prayers and oblations, think it necessary to relinquish and repent of sin. Now they who consider the Deity as in this sense inflexible, can have no motive for abandoning their sins, since they must look upon repentance as wholly ineffectual.

But, above all, how can the philosopher censure the poet for saying that the gods are changeable, when he himself has made even the maker of those gods so changeable as to call the inferior deities at one time mortal and at another immortal; and not only this, but to assert that the matter, of which they must of necessity be formed, is both created and uncreated. He seems to have been wholly unconscious, that of the very fault which he charges upon Homer, he is equally guilty, nay more so; for Homer, so far from ascribing mutability to the supreme Deity, directly asserts the contrary.

ὣ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον, σδ' ἀπατηλὸν,  
 Οὐδ' ατελεύτητόν γ', ὅ τι κεν κεφαλῇ κατατεύσω†

Nought, by my nod confirmed,  
 May, after, be reversed or rendered vain.

\* Ἀγνῶς is the last word in the former quotation; and according to Sylburgius the same reading is given by Eusebius—*Demonstr. Evang.*—(Tr.)

† Iliad, i. 526.

Plato, however, seems to have been guilty of these absurdities, entirely through fear of his idolatrous countrymen. He seems to have thought it necessary to communicate what he learned respecting the true God from Moses and the prophets, as an original conception of his own. He had been struck with admiration at the mystical name ὁ ὢν, and after profound reflection on this concise description, he concluded that the Deity by means of it intended to express his own eternity—the single syllable ὢν including not merely one period of time, but three, the past, the present, and the future. That Plato understood this participle in this extended sense (as to time) is evident from his own expression, ὃν δὲ οὐδέποτε. For οὐδέποτε is not used with reference to the past, as some suppose, but to the future, a fact clearly ascertained from the usage of profane writers. Now Plato, wishing to explain this mystical expression of God's eternity to those who were unacquainted with it, uses these words—"God, as the ancient saying is, (ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος) includes in himself, the beginning, and the end, and the midst of all things." By παλαιὸς λόγος he evidently means the law of Moses, his dread of the hemlock inducing him to suppress the name of a man, whose doctrines were so odious to the Greeks. The epithet *ancient*, however, is sufficient to show to what he refers. For that the most ancient *law* was that of Moses, has already been shown from the testimony of Diodorus and others; the former, declaring that Moses was a lawgiver at a time when the characters were not yet invented, in which the books of the Greeks are written. And let no one think it improbable, that the truths thus mystically taught by Plato respecting the eternity of God were derived from the books of Moses. For you will find that he elsewhere covertly ascribes to the prophets, under God, the only knowledge of certain principles, he says, "I lay down the principle of fire and of certain other bodies, in



such a manner as I can ; but the real principles of those substances are known only to God and to his friends." To whom does he here apply the name of *friends of God*, if not to Moses and the prophets ?

From the books of Moses and the prophets he also gathered some idea of the judgment, which he thus retails in the first book of his Republic. "When a man believes the end of life to be approaching, there arises in his mind a dread and solicitude to which he was before a stranger. The stories which he has heard and laughed at, respecting hell, and punishment there inflicted on the wicked, now torment his soul with an apprehension that they may possibly be true. And he gives the more attention to these subjects at such a time, both on account of the natural infirmity of age and his near approach to a future state. Being filled, therefore, with fear and forebodings, he begins to reason and to inquire whether he has committed any sin. If he perceives in his past life a great number of offences, he awakes like a child from a dream, and spends in despondency the remainder of his days ;—while on the other hand, if he is conscious of no iniquity, a delightful hope is constantly present with him, the sweet solace of old age, as Pindar expresses it, when he says—' He whose life is spent in acts of piety and justice, shall have for his companion cherishing and animating hope, the solace of old age, by which the varying minds of men are principally governed.' "

This extract is from the first book of his Republic. In the tenth, he clearly and distinctly repeats what he had gathered from the prophets on the subject of the Judgment, not acknowledging them as the source of his information ; but professing to have heard what he relates from a man who had been killed in battle, and when about to be buried on the twelfth day after his death, revived upon the funeral pile, and described what he had seen in his

absence from the body. “He said that he had been present there when one person was asked by another, where Aridæus the great was to be found. This Aridæus had reigned in a city of Pamphylia, had murdered his aged father and his elder brother, and had committed, as it was said, many other enormous crimes. The person questioned respecting him replied—‘He is not here—nor is he likely to come here. For among other dreadful spectacles which we witnessed when we came to the mouth of the pit, in order to reascend after having suffered our appointed punishment, we beheld him and others with him, principally kings; though there were also some private men, who were eminent for wickedness. Upon these wretches offering to ascend, the mouth of the pit would not suffer them to pass; but constantly gave a hideous bellowing when any attempted to come up, whose crimes were wholly inexpressible, or whose punishment was not yet complete. We also saw, standing by, certain wild-looking men of fiery aspect, who no sooner heard the bellowing, than they seized upon Aridæus and his companions, and after binding them hand and foot, threw them down, flayed them, and dragged them over thorns. They, at the same time, informed the spectators for what crimes these torments were inflicted, and told them, that the victims were now to be taken and thrown into Tartarus. There, he said, among a multitude of horrors, the greatest was the bellowing of the pit when an attempt was made to reascend, while it was the greatest joy to any one to be allowed to escape in silence. Such he described as the punishments of the place, and the rewards of the pious as directly opposite.”

In this passage, Plato appears to me to have copied from the books of the Prophets, not only the doctrine of a final judgment, but also that of the resurrection, in which the Greeks did not believe. For by describing the soul as enduring punishment in conjunction with the body, his ob-

ject seems to be to intimate his belief in the future resurrection of the latter. That he does describe such a conjunction is very evident. For otherwise, how could Ari-dæus and his companions suffer the torments related above, when they had left their heads, and hands, and feet, and skin behind them, on the earth? It will scarcely be said, that the soul is furnished with such appendages. The truth is, Plato merely teaches what the Prophets had before taught him, that there will be a resurrection of the body, and that the body and the soul will appear together in the day of judgment. He is not alone, as a teacher of this doctrine. Homer also, who had acquired the same knowledge when in Egypt, represents Tityus as undergoing a similar punishment. The words are in the description given by Ulysses to Alcinous, of his communion with the ghosts.

Καὶ Τιτυὸν εἶδον γαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν,  
 Κείμενον ἐν δαπέδῳ, ὃ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα  
 Γύπε δέ μιν ἐκάτερθε παρημένῳ ἦπαρ ἔκειρον.\*

There also Tityus on the ground I saw  
 Extended, offspring of the glorious earth;  
 Nine acres he o'erspread, and, at his side  
 Stationed, two vultures on his liver preyed.

The poet surely cannot intend to represent the soul in its separate state as having a *liver*. In the same way he speaks of Sisyphus and Tantalus as suffering bodily torments. As to the fact, that many things which Homer has inserted in his poems, were picked up in Egypt, we have the testimony of Diodorus your most respectable historian. He states, for example, it was in Egypt that the poet heard of the *nepenthe*, a drug occasioning an oblivion of all misfortunes, which Helen received from Polydamna the wife of Theon,

\* Odyssey, xi. 575.

and carried with her to Sparta ; and which she is represented as employing to assuage the grief occasioned by a speech of Menelaus, during the visit of Telemachus to Lacedæmon.\* Again, the epithet of *golden*, as applied to Venus he learned from an Egyptian tradition ; there being in Egypt a grove and plain dedicated to her under that name. But it may be asked, for what purpose I introduce these circumstances here ? To show the probability of his having thus transferred to his writings many things derived from the books of the prophets—as, for instance, the Mosaic account of the creation. The statement made by Moses is this. In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, and afterwards the sun, moon, and stars. Homer, learning this in Egypt, and being pleased with this account of the matter, seems to have intended his description of the shield manufactured by Vulcan for Achilles as a symbolical account of the creation.

Ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ, ἔν δ' ἔρανόν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν  
 Ἡελίον τ' ἀκάμαντα σελήνην τε πλήθευσαν,  
 Ἐν δέ τε τείρεα πάντα τά τ' ἔρανός ἐστεφάνωται.†

There he described the earth, the heaven, the sea,  
 The sun that rests not, and the moon full orb'd,  
 There also, all the stars, which round about,  
 As with a radiant frontlet bind the skies.

In the garden of Alcinous he presents us with a picture of Paradise, representing it as always flourishing and abounding in fruit.

Ἐνθα δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκει τηλεθώοντα,  
 Ὅχνηαι, καὶ ῥοιαί, καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι, &c.‡

There grew luxuriant many a lofty tree,  
 Pomegranate, pear, the apple blushing bright,  
 The honied fig, and unctuous olive smooth.

\* Odyssey, iv. 228. † Iliad, xviii. 433. ‡ Odyssey, vii. 114.

Those fruits, nor winter's cold nor summer's heat,  
 Fear ever, fail not, wither not, but hang  
 Perennial, while unceasing zephyrs breathe  
 Gently on all, &c. &c.

Do not these verses contain an exact imitation of what Moses writes respecting paradise? So if any one will examine the description of the Tower, which men erected, in the vain hope of ascending into heaven—he will find it allegorically represented by the poet in the story of Otus and Ephialtes.

Οἷ ῥα καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπειλήσῃεν ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ  
 Φυλόπιδα στήσιν πολυάϊκος πολέμοιο.  
 Ὅσσον ἐπ' Ὀλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὅσση  
 Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἴν' ἔξανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.\*

Against the gods

Themselves they threatened war, and to excite  
 The din of battle in the realms above,  
 To the Olympian summit they essayed  
 To heave up Ossa, and to Ossa's crown  
 Branch-waving Pelion ; so to climb the heavens.

In the same way we find described the fall from heaven of the adversary of our race, whom the sacred Scriptures call Διάβολος, from his deception of our first parents. It will be seen, indeed, that the poet does not use this name, but Ἄτη or *Injury*, a characteristic title derived from the wicked disposition of the being to whom it is applied. This Ἄτη, he informs us, was expelled from heaven by the Deity, remembering, no doubt, the words of the prophet Isaiah on the same subject.

Αὐτίκα δ' εἶλ' Ἄτην κεφαλῆς λιπαροπλοκάμοιο,  
 Χώμενος φρεσὶν ᾗσι, καὶ ὤμοσε καρτερὸν ὄρκον,  
 Μή ποτ' ἐς Οὐλυμπόν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἄστερόεντα  
 Αὔτις ἐλεύσεσθαι Ἄτην, ἥ πάντας ἀἶται.

\* Odyssey, xi. 314.



Ὡς εἰπὼν ἐρριψεν ἀπ' ὤμων ἀστρεβόεντος  
 Χεὶρὶ περιστρύψας· τὰχα δ' ἵκετο ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων.\*

She spake ; then anguish stung the heart of Jove  
 Deeply, and seizing by her glossy locks  
 The goddess Ate, in his wrath he swore  
 That never to the starry skies again  
 And the Olympian height he would permit  
 The universal mischief to return.  
 So saying, he whirled and cast her from the skies.

Plato, as we have already seen, places next to God and matter, as a universal principle, εἶδος or form. This doctrine he seems to have derived from Moses, from whom he certainly borrows the term εἶδος, but attaches a mistaken meaning to it, not having learned, that the words of the prophet were to be understood in a mystical sense. Moses relates, that God having directed him to build the tabernacle, said, *According to all that I shew thee, after the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it ;* and again, *Look that thou make them after their pattern, which was showed thee in the mount ;* and again, a little after, *Thou shalt rear up the tabernacle according to the fashion thereof which was showed thee in the mount.* Plato perusing these passages and mistaking the true import of the terms, inferred from them, that there is a distinct form of things which is in existence before the visible form, and is called the pattern (παράδειγμα and τύπος) in the words quoted above. A mistake of the same kind he seems to have made with respect to the creation of the earth, the heavens, and man, supposing them also to have had a distinct and pre-existent form. Moses says, *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth ;* and adds, *The earth was without form and void* (ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασχεύαστος.) These last

\* Iliad, xix. 126.

† Exodus xxv. 9. 40. and xxiv. 39.

words Plato supposed to have reference to the pre-existent form of the earth, and the former to the visible earth, which God created in exact correspondence with the other. So with regard to the heavens, he supposes the firmament which God is said to have made, to be the visible heaven ; while that which was mentioned before is the intellectual or pre-existent heaven, of which the prophet is speaking, when he says, Οὐρανὸς τῷ ἔργον τῷ κυρίῳ, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἔδωκε τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

He falls into the same error with respect to man. Moses mentions man, at first, and then after recording many other creations describes the mode of his formation, saying, *God made man of the dust of the ground*. Plato therefore imagined, that the first mentioned existed before the man who was created, and that the former was the model on which the latter was formed. Homer also seems to have been acquainted with these words of the sacred history, *Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return*. For he applies this term to the dead body of Hector, when he speaks of its being dragged around the walls by Achilles ;

Κωφὴν γὰρ δὴ γαῖαν ἀεικίζει μενεαίνων.\*

Menelaus, too, uses the same language in his speech to the Greeks on their hesitating to accept the challenge of Hector ;

Ἄλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε.—†

his excess of anger leading him to resolve their bodies, as it were, into their constituent elements.

From what source could Plato have derived the idea of Jupiter's winged chariot but from the following description by the prophet? *Then the glory of the Lord departed from off the threshold of the house, and stood over the cheru-*

\* Iliad xxiv. 54.

† Iliad vii. 99.

*blems. And the cherubims lifted up their wings and mounted up from the earth in my sight. When they went out, the wheels also were beside them—and the glory of the God of Israel was over them and above.\** Plato, excited by this sublime description, with great boldness of speech, exclaims, “The great God drives his winged chariot through the skies.” To what source shall we trace his doctrine, that the essence of God is fire, if not to a misconception of the following passage in the third book of Kings, *The Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a still small voice.*|| Now this cannot be comprehended even by believers, except after profound reflection. But Plato, from a want of proper attention to the language, falls into a mistake, and asserts that “God *was* in the fire.”

We shall find on diligent inquiry, also, that the gift descending from God upon holy men, which is called in the sacred Scriptures the Holy Spirit, is mentioned in Plato’s discourse to Menon. Not indeed under the real name, for he was afraid of being considered a public enemy if he should be discovered to promulgate the doctrines of the prophets. But he acknowledges that there is such an influence which descends from God upon men, and which he calls *’APETH, virtue*. For in his discourse to Menon respecting memory, after discussing various questions respecting this virtue, as, whether it is to be imparted by instruction or acquired by exercise; or whether it can be obtained in neither way, but is a gift of nature, he concludes the matter thus: “If in what has been said, our inquiries and assertions have been correct, the conclusion must be, that virtue is neither bestowed by nature nor imparted by instruction, but com-

\* Ezekiel, x, 18, 19.

† 1 Kings, xix. 11, 12.

municated by a divine influence—and that not imperceptibly to those upon whom it is conferred.” In these words I think it evident, that he merely repeats with reference to what he calls virtue, the doctrine taught by the prophets with reference to the Holy Spirit ; and as the sacred writers teach, that the Holy Spirit, though one, is divided into seven spirits, so Plato, while he speaks of virtue as one, asserts that it is divided into four virtues. And although he does not mention the Holy Spirit, he allegorically repeats all the doctrines of the Scriptures respecting it. The conclusion of his discourse to Menon is as follows : “ From this reasoning it appears, O Menon, that to those who receive this VIRTUE at all, it is dispensed by the immediate power of God. The mode in which it is imparted we shall know more clearly, when we have ascertained a previous point—what virtue is.’ Here we see, that although he gives no other title than virtue to this heavenly gift, he thinks it a point worthy of investigation, whether it has not a more appropriate name ; his dread of being thought a disciple of the prophets still preventing his calling it the Holy Spirit.

Again how did Plato know, that *time* and *heaven* were created together ? “ Time and heaven,” says he, “ are coeval ; so that, as they began together, they shall together be dissolved, when the period of their dissolution has arrived.” Is not this borrowed from the Mosaic history ? He knew, that time arises from the succession of days and months and years. He knew, too, that this succession commenced on the first day after the creation of the heavens ; for, says Moses, *God created the heavens and the earth*, after which he adds, *and the evening and the morning were the first day*. Plato, however, uses the whole for a part, instituting χρόνος for ἡμέρα, not daring to copy the words of Moses too closely, lest he should be arraigned before the people. From the same quarter he must have derived his opinion respecting the dissolution of the heavens, and must

have known, too, that the same doctrines were in the same manner taught in the writings of the prophets.

If we examine the history of idolatrous worship, and endeavour to ascertain why they who first made images for this purpose gave them a human form, I think we shall be able to trace this custom also to the Scriptures. We are told by Moses that God said, *Let us make man in our own image, and after our likeness*. It being reported among men, therefore, that man was created in the image of God, and resembled him in form, they began to make idols in the same form, supposing that by copying the resemblance of the Deity, they would imitate himself.

I have detailed these facts, for the purpose of proving, that no true knowledge of religion is to be gained from men, whose most admired conceptions are not original, but borrowed from the inspired writers, and disguised in allegory. The time has arrived, O Greeks, when, knowing as you do that our teachers were far more ancient than all your masters of philosophy, you should abandon the ancient delusion of your fathers, and diligently study the sacred books of Moses and the prophets, that you may obtain a knowledge of the true religion. *They* practise no rhetorical arts, they pretend to no powers of persuasion or conviction, which are necessary only for such as wish to tamper with the truth. But applying to every thing its plain and proper epithet, they simply teach us what the Holy Spirit, by whom they were inspired, thought proper to communicate to man. Throwing aside, therefore, all false shame, renounce the errors of your ancestors, desist from your vain affectation of a false superiority, which is now the source of your greatest enjoyment, and accept the advantages proposed to you. You cannot sin either against yourselves or others, by relinquishing the false belief of men, who are now in hell repenting too late of their fatal error. Oh, could they but speak to you from their pre-



sent abode, and recount to you all that they have suffered since the termination of their mortal existence, you would know what that misery is, which you are exhorted to avoid. But since you cannot derive instruction from them, nor from those who are falsely called philosophers on earth, your last resort is to the Sacred Scriptures. In them you are not to look for elegance of language, since the glory of the true religion consists in things, not words. But from them, you may learn the means of eternal life. The men who have unlawfully usurped the title of philosophers, are convicted of ignorance, not only by their differing in opinion from each other, but by the inconsistency of their doctrine with itself.

Now if the discovery of the truth is the end of true philosophy, how can they be called philosophers who have wholly failed in accomplishing that end? And if Socrates, the greatest of them all, who was pronounced even by an oracle, to be the wisest of men, confessed, that he knew nothing, how is it, that his disciples profess to be familiar, even with things in heaven. Socrates himself declared, that he had received the name of *Wise*, merely because while other men affected to know things of which they knew nothing, he never scrupled to confess his ignorance. "If I have any claim," said he, "to the character of a wise man, it arises from this simple circumstance, that I never imagine myself to know what I really know not." Nor is this acknowledgment to be considered as ironical, or as spoken under an assumed character, as is frequently the case in his conversations. For he concludes his defence before the Areopagus, when about to be remanded to prison, with a similar confession, which is unequivocally serious and severe. "The time is come, when we must part—you to live on, and myself to die. Which condition is the more desirable, is known to none but God."—Thus, in his last public address, ascribing to God alone the know-

ledge of things unknown to man. His successors, however, unable as they were to comprehend even sublunary things, boasted of an intimate acquaintance with heaven. Aristotle, as we have seen, pretending to a more accurate knowledge of the upper world, than his master Plato, declared that the essence of God was not *fire*, but what he calls the fifth ethereal element. He employed himself in attempting to establish his own opinion upon these subjects, by argument and eloquence, until he discovered that he was not even wise enough to comprehend the nature of the Euripus, and then from mere shame, put an end to his existence.\* Let no one then prefer the eloquence of these writers to his own salvation; but rather, according to the ancient fable, close his ears with wax, and be deaf to the enchanting but fatal music of the siren. The men of whom I speak make use of their command over language as a tempting bait to allure others from true religion, after the example of those who first taught the doctrines of polytheism. To such enticements I entreat you not to yield, but on the contrary, to peruse with diligence the writings of our prophets. And if you are unwilling, either from indolence, or an attachment to the superstition of your fathers, to read these books, from which alone you can learn even the first principle of true religion, the unity of God, you will regard at least the authority of him who first taught the existence of a plurality of deities. I

\* There are several conflicting accounts of the death of Aristotle. That which is here alluded to has been by some considered a fabrication of Justin Martyr, or Gregory Nazianzen. The story is this: The Euripus (a narrow sea between Eubœa and Bœotia, on the shore of which stood Chalcis, where the philosopher spent the latter part of his life) ebbed and flowed seven times a day; and Aristotle, being unable to explain the phænomenon, threw himself into it, exclaiming, "Since Aristotle cannot comprehend Euripus, let Euripus comprehend Aristotle."—(TR.)

mean the poet Orpheus, who afterwards made a becoming and honourable recantation of his former errors. To his authority I would have you yield, as well as to that of others, who have given similar instructions respecting the unity of God. For by the direction of Divine Providence, some of your writers have been compelled, as we have seen, to attest the truth of our sacred books, and the doctrines which they contain, that all the arguments in favour of polytheism might be taken away, and an opportunity afforded to its followers of embracing a purer faith.

Some genuine religious knowledge may also be derived from the ancient Sibyl, whose oracular responses, pronounced under the influence of an extraordinary inspiration, we regard as not far inferior in authority to the prophecies themselves. This Sibyl, it is said, was the daughter of Berosus, the Chaldean historian, and came over from Babylon to Cuma, in Campania, not far from Baiæ where the warm baths are—and there uttered her responses. I myself, when I visited the city, saw an edifice wonderfully and admirably formed of a single stone, in which, as the inhabitants told us on the authority of an ancient tradition, she was wont to pronounce her oracles. They also showed us three cisterns hewn from the same stone, in which she used to bathe, after which she arrayed herself in a robe, ascended into the inner chamber of the edifice, which was also built from the same stone, where she uttered her prediction, seated on the highest step of a throne. This Sibyl has been mentioned by many writers—among the rest by Plato in his *Phædrus*. He seems indeed to have been induced by the perusal of her prophecies to regard all persons of the same character as divine. For he had seen many of the things predicted by her long before, actually come to pass; and being struck with astonishment at the fact, he writes thus upon the subject in his address to Menon. “We might very properly apply the epithet divine

to those whom we now call *χρησμοῦδοι*;\* and especially might we consider as divine, and divinely inspired, and, indeed, pervaded by the Deity, those who speak the truth on the most important subjects, yet know nothing of what they are saying." This passage contains an evident allusion to the verses of the Sibyl, who had not, like ordinary poets, the power of correcting what she uttered according to the rules of metre. Her gift of prophecy, continued only during the time of her inspiration, and when that had subsided, all recollection of her own words was gone. This will account for the fact, that the measure of the Sibylline verses is sometimes incomplete. And, indeed, the persons who conduct strangers to view the curiosities of Cuma, (and who pointed out to me a brazen urn, which, they said, contained her ashes,) informed us, among other facts which they professed to have derived from their ancestors, that the metrical errors found in the responses which have been preserved, arose from the fact that the Sibyl herself retained no recollection of what she had uttered, when the moment of supernatural excitement was gone; and that those by whom the responses were received and recorded were uneducated men, and of course, unacquainted with the rules of verse. It is evidently in allusion to this circumstance that Plato speaks of those who utter the truth on the most important subjects, yet know nothing of what they are saying. But since the truth of religious doctrines has no dependence either on the accuracy of poetic measures, nor on that species of learning which is valued among you, let us leave the consideration of mere words and numbers, and impartially examine the substance of the Sibylline responses. Reflect, I entreat you, of what blessings she was made the harbinger, when she predicted unequivocally the advent of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who, being the Word of God, and the same with God in power, assumed the form of man (the

\* Soothsayers, pronouncers of Oracles.

image and likeness of his Maker) that he might revive the religion taught to our first parents, from which their children had apostatized under the influence of a malignant fiend, and turned to the worship of non-existent deities. But if you feel any hesitation in receiving our account of the creation of man, appeal to those in whom you still place confidence, and learn from them, that in a hymn, which an oracle once addressed, at the request of an individual, to the Omnipotent God, we have these words,

“Ὁν πρῶτον πλάσας μερόπων, Ἀδὰμ. οὗ καλέσσας.

The first man whom he made, he called Adam.

This hymn is preserved by many whom we know, for the confusion of such as refuse to acknowledge the truth, though proved by universal testimony.

Unless then, O Greeks, you regard this false imagination respecting a plurality of Gods, as of more importance than your own salvation, I would again exhort you to believe the testimony of the ancient Sibyl, whose books are at this time extant in every quarter of the globe—her declarations respecting the imaginary beings whom you call gods, and her predictions of the approaching advent of our Saviour, and of what he should accomplish. But if any should still suppose, that a knowledge of the truth may be derived from your ancient teachers of philosophy, listen to Acmon and to Hermus, the former of whom applies to God the title Πάγκρυπτος, or *totally inscrutable*, while the latter declares, that “to know God is difficult, and that even to one who could comprehend his nature, to describe it would be impossible.” To whatever authority, therefore, we appeal, we find it to be the conclusion of the whole matter, that a knowledge of God, and of the true religion, can be learned only from the prophets, who taught by inspiration from above.



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**HINTS**

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF

**The Study of the Old Testament,**

BY AUGUSTUS THOLUCK,

*Professor in the University of Halle.*



TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

**BY R. B. PATTON.**

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UPON Germany, the eye of the serious theologian rests with a deep and painful interest. Grateful for the talents, learning and piety which she threw into the field to combat with the powers of darkness, and to liberate the moral and intellectual faculties of man from superstition, ignorance and degradation; grateful for the long list of worthies whose examples and instructions have illustrated the doctrines of the cross; grateful also for the indefatigable research which has ransacked every nook and corner of the ancient and modern world, to elucidate the language, idioms and allusions of the "Book of Books;" which has rescued from worms and dust, examined, appreciated and collated the sacred manuscripts which, for centuries, had been doomed to the silence and oblivion of the cloister;—grateful for these and other important services in the cause of theological learning and of piety, he cannot but deplore, at the same time, the presumptuous ardour of thought, the misapplied learning, the injudicious zeal, the looseness of sentiment, and the consequent low state of piety and morals which, since the middle of the last century, have marred the fairest portions of intellectual Germany.

We look backward, with a good degree of curiosity, through the last two centuries, in order to find an adequate cause for this great moral change;\* and we look forward, with intense solicitude, to the probable effects of this de-

\* This subject has been lately so ably handled by the Rev. Hugh James Rose, in a *Series of Discourses preached before the University of Cambridge* (reprinted in the *Repertory* Vol. II. p. 387. and following), and in the Review of these discourses in *The Quarterly Theological Review* for March, 1826, that we must content ourselves with referring our readers to those publications for a full exposition of the probable causes which have operated to produce this change.

fection, upon the piety and christian morality of those nations who are brought into literary contact with the Germans. We cast also a benevolent look around us, anxious to discover some symptoms of returning health—a wholesome reaction, a consciousness of corroding disease gnawing at the vitals, a strengthening of the things that remain, an inflexible purpose of amendment, a returning to the doctrines of “the great God and our Saviour,” which the pious Reformers—their professed exemplars—so sedulously taught.

We have reason to believe that there exist, at present, circumstances which throw some rays of light across this dark picture, and relieve, in some measure, the gloomy forebodings we are disposed to indulge.

1. The supremacy of philosophy in matters of Religion, so long, and with such pernicious consequences, insisted upon in the lecture-room, in the pulpit, in the elaborate commentary, and even in the books of private devotion, is beginning to be disputed; or rather, to speak more properly, a sounder philosophy is taking the place of that rash spirit of speculation which had assumed its name.

The imaginative, discursive and metaphysical genius of the German, freed from those restraining and controlling influences which a humble piety exerts, and forgetting the impassable limits of the human powers, has presumed to sit in judgment upon the revelation from heaven, invented a standard by which to decide upon the merits of its doctrines, subjected its plainest declarations to the test of reason, rejected or explained away what it could not fathom, called in question the inspiration of the Scriptures, and scattered the seeds of infidelity far and wide, even while clothed in the garb of a divine teacher and an ambassador of Christ. The theological professor has not hesitated unblushingly to declare, when pressed with a genuine and well authenticated miracle; *My philosophy forbids me to recognise the existence of a miracle.*

Not less than four or five master-spirits have, within comparatively few years, commanded, for the time being, almost universally, the admiration of the German literati. Leibnitz, Wolf, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, like waves of the sea have chased each other forward, each one successively overwhelming its predecessor, until merged, in its turn, in comparative oblivion, by its triumphant successor. In the midst of their ever varying and discordant systems, some of their writers began to congratulate the nation as the only one in possession of a theology which *lived*, and *breathed*, and *grew*, while that of other nations was in a wretched state of torpor, fraught with error, degraded by irrational views of God, obscured by mysticism, destitute of *improvement*, *invention*, and *rationality*.

We do not mean to assert that there have not existed some honourable exceptions to these remarks—some illustrious scholars whose minds were sound, and whose sentiments and pious conduct were such as comported with the word of God, which they professed to receive. But we think we are warranted by personal observation and reading, in saying, that this state of things, with its consequences, became so general as to form the prevailing features in the character of the most literary and best informed portion of Germany.

If we may judge, however, from the modifications which the metaphysical philosophy is apparently undergoing, from the relaxing of its more rigid features, and from the disrespect with which these philosophical speculations are beginning to be spoken of by certain influential writers, the sway of this falsely named philosophy is becoming daily less extensive and imperious.\*

\* "Some of the metaphysical writers have lately also enlisted themselves on the side of Christianity. Köppen, in his *Philosophie des Christenthums*, has attempted to show the truth of the doctrine of Original sin on philosophical grounds. A celebrated physician of



2. Some of the more serious and judicious of their theologians have, for some years past, candidly acknowledged and publicly deplored the state of theological opinion, and the almost imperceptible practical influence of christianity\* wherever these loose opinions have gained currency; and, in some instances, a change of sentiment and a degree of recantation has taken place. The later productions of De Wette, Kaiser, and Ammon, for example, and some expressions which dropped from Staedlin for some years before his decease, the evangelical views and pious labours of Tholuck, and the increasing seriousness and spirituality among some of the theological students, encourage us to hope that the dawn of a brighter day is begun.

3. The decided position which the present king of Prussia has taken, in favour of the promulgation of pure Gospel truth, his evangelical sentiments—not received by inheritance from his ancestors, but the result of an ingenuous examination of the word of God, because he had “applied himself assiduously to the Bible, and sought therein the doctrines taught by Christ and his Apostles”†—the influence which his opinions and deportment are calculated to exert, owing to the high and noble sphere in which he moves, not only upon the community at large, and upon his court, but

Leipsic, Dr. Heinroth, has annoyed the Rationalists dreadfully, by a treatise on Anthropology, in which his views of the intellectual and moral part of man are entirely at variance with them, and in unison with the orthodox notions. The masterly nature of the work, and the high reputation of the author, were equally subject of annoyance with the Rationalists.” Rose’s Discourses. Repert. Vol. ii. p. 10. note.

\* “Bretschneider has published a pamphlet on this subject, called: *Ueber die Unkirklichkeit dieser Zeit*, in which he says, that so many have been published, that he doubts if any thing new can be said.” Rose’s Discourses. Repert. Vol. iii. p. 4. note.

† Letter to the Dutchess of Anhalt Coethen, on her renouncing the Protestant religion for the Catholic.

especially upon his universities,\* seem to forebode a happy change, at no very distant period, in the moral aspect of Prussia. And when we consider the high standing of her theological professors, the reputation of her numerous and scattered universities, and their close connexion in language, manners, and literature, with the other German states, the anticipation is by no means a presumptuous one, that the whole of theological and literary Germany will come more or less under the benign influence of evangelical truth.

4. Semler, who is regarded as the founder of the Rationalizing school, commenced his neological career under circumstances highly favourable to the dissemination of his doctrines. His daring intellect, his comprehensive range of thought, his ardent thirst for knowledge, his extensive literary acquirements, commanded the admiration and confidence of his contemporaries. The plausibility and novelty of his views—which last quality is so bewitching to the German mind—prepared the way for their general reception. Several causes had been operating for some years before his appearance, through whose instrumentality the theologians and the philosophers of Germany were predisposed to the cordial adoption and the industrious application of his principles. We allude to the want, which the Protestant churches experienced, of control over the wildest and most licentious spirit of innovation, the loss of respect for their symbolical books, the misguided zeal of the Pietists who maintained that Christianity consisted solely in virtue, and the consequent reaction which produced a philosophical and even a mathematical school of theology; and, finally, the disposition to employ this very philosophy to explain away and soften down the more obnoxious doctrines, and to elevate the unassisted efforts of human reason to a supremacy in matters of religion which it poorly merits.

\* He lately elevated Tholuck to a high and commanding situation in the University of Halle, which is any thing but orthodox.

But the brilliant talents of Semler no longer dazzle the eyes of his admiring countrymen. The effervescence is past. The novelty has ceased. The experiment has been made. An eventful but instructive portion of the history of theology in Germany, from the Reformation to the present time, furnishes a detail of facts upon which the speculative mind of the German may seize and theorize with hardly a possibility of error. It is ardently to be desired, that the German Church may profit by the lesson which the last two centuries have taught so clearly that "he that runneth may read, and the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein."

5. The writings of Storr, Tittmann, Knapp, Tholuck, and others, are not consigned to neglect and oblivion. If we are not mistaken in the signs of the times, they, as well as their authors, are commanding an increased respect; whilst the latter, by their lives, have evinced, or are still evincing, that a sincere piety and the profoundest learning, a simple-hearted faith, and the keenest spirit of research, may form a lovely and harmonious union, ennoble the heart of the christian, and shed a benignant light on all within the sphere of his influence.

6. This little tract also, by Tholuck, which we have translated for the Repertory, and which seems to have been designed by the author to awaken the attention of the students of theology more particularly, to the importance of the study of the Old Testament, is an additional item in the amount of encouragement. Although somewhat loosely put together, diffuse in style, and bordering on the enthusiastic in sentiment, the spirit which it breathes, the entire subjection of reason to Revelation which it inculcates, the importance which it attaches to a living faith, the prominency which it gives to those views and doctrines which we are wont to regard as all-important to salvation, will, we doubt not, gratify our readers as a pledge of good things to come.

Let us bear in mind also the national propensity of the Germans, under the influence of which the intellectual character of the student is formed. We allude to a strong thirst for abstract, refined, and sometimes vague speculations, of which, if we mistake not, there are some traces in the piece before us. Let us remember also the influence which our early philosophical education is wont to exert upon our riper years, even where the spirit of meek and humble piety predominates, and we shall not be startled at some few extravagancies of expression, or mystical and enthusiastical sentiments, discoverable here and there in the writings of this promising young theologian.

May the great Head of the Church revive in this land—the cradle of the Reformation—the spirit of the Reformers, so that the mantle of Luther may fall upon his professed followers and admirers,—that all who pretend to teach may be taught of God,—men of faith, learning, research, and above all, of ardent and unfeigned piety.—(Temp. Ed. & Tr.)





## HINTS

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF

### The Study of the Old Testament.

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For the last twenty or thirty years, the sentiment has prevailed almost universally, both among theologians and private christians, *that the study of the Old Testament, for theologians, as well as the devotional reading of the same, for the laity, is either entirely profitless, or, at least, promises but little advantage.* Adapting our remarks more especially to the theologian, we shall attempt, in this Essay, clearly to show,

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, EVEN ON THE SUPPOSITION THAT IT IS NOWISE CONNECTED WITH THE NEW;

II. THE PROFOUND WISDOM DISPLAYED IN THE PROVIDENTIAL LEADINGS, AND IN THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF THE HEBREWS; AND,

III. THE ENTIRE DEPENDANCE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT UPON THE OLD;—AND THAT CHRIST IS THE SUM AND SUBSTANCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

As this subject has enlisted the attention of thinking men in all ages, it may naturally be expected, that many valuable thoughts have already been broached by others. It is not our design, therefore, in this Essay, to furnish much that is new, but merely to lay before the theologians of our day the substance of what has been already advanced.

I. *How far, then, do the books of the Old Testament deserve our serious study, even admitting the absence of all connexion with Christianity?*

If *steadfastness* and *independence* be celebrated as distinguished excellencies, in the character of an individual; much more are they worthy of our admiration, when exhibited in the character of a whole nation. Josephus (*Contr. Ap.* ii. 31.) remarks: "Were it not a fact, that the Jewish nation is universally known, and their voluntary subjection to their laws, a matter of public notoriety, the Greeks—if our institutions were described to them, or if it were told them that, beyond the limits of the then known world, such a people had been discovered, entertaining such exalted conceptions of the Deity, and abiding true to their laws for so many centuries,—the Greeks, I say, would be in utter amazement; for *they* know of nothing but continual *change*."

But this constant *variation* and *change*, some one will object, *produce life*; and it is this very *life* which elevates the Greeks so high on the scale of intellect, whilst the whole East has been torpid from time immemorial. But the grand object of human existence, is certainly not a mere *activity of mind devoid of aim* (which the Persian Dschelaleddin compares with the unceasing flow of a stream): for, when the truth is once discovered, it is quite superfluous to search for it anew; and the Apostle of the Gentiles delineates, in the most striking manner, the character of all the heathen, of ancient and of modern times, when he describes them as "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth."

The Hebrews possessed a religious service, which, as we shall see, satisfied the demands of an humble mind, not yet elevated to the higher degrees of spirituality. To this service they continued faithful. In conformity with it, they fashioned their whole life; and Josephus (*Contr. Ap.* ii. 20.)

can say with justice: "It affords no ground for objection against us, that *we have discovered nothing new*. It rather proves that *we needed nothing better*." "What can we conceive more lovely," continues this spirited writer, "than a state whose whole administration resembles a common religious festival? *Whilst other nations have preserved, scarcely for the space of a few days, their festivals and their mysteries, we celebrate, with inflexible purpose* (*ἀμετάπειστοι*), *our religious ordinances, from century to century*."

Now, if such a perseverance and persistency be not the result of a deficiency of internal vigour and energy, it must be regarded as something truly noble; as in the case of Sparta, the conqueror of nations, whose praise is sounded far and wide, because she was enabled to adhere, for many centuries, to the brazen laws of Lycurgus.

But who would venture to attribute to the Israelites a deficiency of internal vigour, who, without union in the times of the Judges; in a flourishing condition during the brilliant periods of a David and a Solomon; torn with internal commotions, and harassed by wars from without, during the reigns of the kings; subjugated by their enemies in the Babylonian captivity; and under the Maccabees, with heroic energy, asserting again their pristine importance;—experienced all the vicissitudes which fall to the lot of nations. True, their want of energy and their extreme languor were but too apparent at the time of our Saviour. But a new order of things was then introduced. Fearful were the last agonies, when the ruins of Jerusalem entombed the antiquated and now unmeaning Sanctuary; as, long before, at Nineveh, the smouldering ruins of the royal palace had buried the effeminate Sardinapalus, and, with him, the sunken glory of Assyria. It must, therefore, be highly instructive, to investigate the source of this brazen perseverance (*ἰσχυρογνώμοσύνη*,

which was noticed and admired in this people, at an early period, by the Grecian Hecataeus,\* a native of Abdera.

If the inquiry be made, by what means the Spartan state was raised to its lofty elevation; and if this inquiry must be answered by pointing to ambition and untameable pride, as the nurse of the Spartan constitution; and to Lycurgus, endeavouring to cherish and to strengthen the native rudeness† of the Doric tribe, and establishing the greatness of the citizens of Sparta, upon the brutal degradation of the legitimate inhabitants—the Lacedemonians;‡ then the Hebrew nation also will appear in a still more interesting light, the more of truth we discover in those words of Josephus:§ “To account for our steadfast faith in God and his commandments, it is necessary to recur to the fact, that our system of laws was far more *useful* than that of any other nation. For *Moses regarded all the virtues as subordinate parts of piety to God, and not piety as a mere subdivision of virtue*. In his legislation, he recognises all our actions as having ἀναφορὰν πρὸς Θεὸν *a relation to God*.” And no impartial historian will deny, that precisely in this uniform recognition of the relation of all events to God, is to be found the source of the great power of the Israelites; inasmuch as those pe-

\* Josephus, *Contr. Ap.* i. 22. The arguments against the authenticity of Hecataeus, in Eichhorn's *Bibliothek*, Vol. v p. 431., are outweighed by those of Zorn, in his *Eclogae Abderitae*, Altona, 1730, p. 192. Who can tell, how much *evil* and *false*, this Hecataeus related concerning the Jews, together with the *good*? Read what Zorn has said of Hecataeus the Milesian, in reference to this very thing, in the work above cited, p. 47.

† Plutarch justly reprehends their stern and savage rigour, when Lycurgus, for example, extirpates all the vines, in order to prevent the use of wine. See Plut. *De audiend. poet.* ed. Wittenb. Vol. i. p. 52.

‡ Manso's *Sparta*, l. i. p. 129.

§ *Contr. Ap.* ii. 15.

riods when piety is languid or extinct, are the most deficient in firm and manly characters; for these are produced only by resting firmly and reposing confidently upon God.

Next to the *steadfastness* and *independence* of the Hebrews, their far-famed *antiquity* claims our respect. More than six hundred years before Lycurgus, Moses gave his laws. Six hundred years before Pindar, the king of the Hebrews composed his divine psalms. Three hundred years before the fabulous heroes, Orpheus, Hercules, and Theseus, sailed to Colchis, Moses founded a *Theocracy* fraught with the marks of divine wisdom. If we refuse to acknowledge the antiquity of the Pentateuch, still the historical facts are certain. But the antiquity of the Pentateuch is called in question, not by the student of history, but solely by theologians, who are offended at its extraordinary colouring.\*

It fares with the remotest antiquity as with our infancy. *Tota illa aetas perit diluvio sicut infantiam mergere solet oblivio*, says St. Augustine; “*All those years were drowned in the deluge, as our infancy is wont to be merged in oblivion.*” Of those ages we know, therefore, but little. What has been preserved, however, from those remote times, by tradition, is presented by Moses in the first ten chapters of Genesis, in a more intelligible form, than is found in all the maze of Grecian, Indian, Egyptian, and Chinese fable.† Admitting that what Moses relates of the

\* For the authenticity of the Pentateuch, the late Jahn has argued profoundly, in Bengel's *Archiv*, ii. & iii. Tuebingen, 1817 and 1818.

† “It is easy to see why I could meddle only orally with the wonderfully learned and, often enough, learnedly wonderful, things which make a talk among us, out of Egypt, India, the world of fable, &c. merely because we prefer an obscure perception of wisdom at a distance, to a near and practical apprehension of it where it really exists. Thus much, however, is certain, that things are not rendered Gospel, by even the most extensive and intricate reading.” Schoels-  
ser's *Weltgeschichte*, Vol. i. Pt. 2. in the preface.



ante-patriarchal times, belongs to an age of darkness, when tradition exerted its transforming influence; still, no one can deny the important truths contained in the chapter concerning the Creation and the Fall; nor can any one mistake the truly historical colouring which shows itself in the history of the patriarchs. To begin with the history of Abraham; who would venture to assert that, after a thousand or sixteen hundred years, when every thing was now changed, some one took it into his head to invent the expedition of the five kings against Sodom, in the description of which every thing betrays the pen of a contemporary? \* Slime pits, and the dry crust of earth impregnated with slime, impede the flight of the inhabitants of Sodom. † Fugitives direct their flight across the mountains of Judea, into the plain where Abraham had pitched his tent, and inform him of what had transpired. Three hundred and eighteen "trained servants, born in his own house," accompany Abraham. With him also were three confederates. On their return, they are hospitably received by the priest and king of Salem. Presents are given and received. What an air of genuine antiqueness pervades the whole! How truly historical! Would not all

\* Let us listen to John v. Mueller: "On no book, have I reflected so much; no one has afforded me so much pleasure. as Moses. Nature is depicted in Moses with as much truth and fidelity, as in Homer; in a greater variety of forms. also, and in a more familiar dress. No condition of life, no age, no sex, but may find examples and warning in these books. That Ezra wrote the books of Moses, is about as true as that *you* wrote them. There is quite another spirit in the ancient lawgiver. He wrote every thing for *his* times, for *his* people, and for *his* plan. I have in my mind a multitude of thoughts, with which I cannot to-day make you acquainted; this, however, is certain, that I might write a book for Moses and the Prophets against the Rabbis and the theologians. For, these folks had eyes and saw not;—especially were their sensibilities frozen, admitting they ever had any." Letter to his brother. *Werke*. Vol. v. p. 72.

† Gen. xiv. 10.

this, in the annals of every other people, be received as history?

If the authenticity of Ossian is disputed,\* because *ships* are here spoken of, at a time when the Caledonians had nothing but *curucae*, constructed of intertwisted oziers, covered with ox-hides;† because *chimneys* are there mentioned as in use among a people that scarcely had huts; because the hunted *roe* is spoken of, when Martial says,

Nuda Caledonio sic pectora præbuit urso;—

why shall we not regard that “rust of antiquity,” that child-like simplicity of manners, so conspicuous in these Hebrew books, as a witness for their authenticity, and the genuineness of the history of the patriarchs. Abraham employs a piece of cunning, not to tell a falsehood, but to conceal the truth;‡ for Sarah was also his sister.§ Rebecca deceived the aged Isaac. Jacob, by a crafty contrivance, enlarges his flock, much to the prejudice of Laban. Instances such as these have been cited by the Tindals and the Celsuses of every age, against the authority of the Bible. But they are continually pressed with this question in return: *Does not all this bear testimony to the veracity of narrators?* Consider only how much an interpolator might have interwoven,|| and

\* *Mithridates*, Vol. ii.

† Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*

‡ 1 Mos. xii. 13.

§ ch. xx. 12.

|| The most splendid testimony to the genuineness of the Hebrew accounts, is furnished by that passage of Hecatæus the Milesian, cited by Diodorus Siculus. from whom it has been preserved to us by Photius in his *Μεγιστοβιβλίον*, Cod. ccxlv. [We subjoin to this note the following words from Townley's *Illustrations*, &c. Vol. i. p. 292. “The *Myriobiblicon* or *Library* is a Review of the works of two hundred and eighty authors, theologians, commentators, philosophers, historians, orators, physicians, and grammarians. It was undertaken at the request of his brother Tarasias, and composed whilst he was a layman. and, as it seems. during an embassy at the court of Bagdat. It is one of the most precious remains of antiquity; and is the model

what palliating circumstances he might have introduced. Schloetzer\* remarks of the Jews, that "*they stand prominent among the nations of the world, not merely in connexion with the christian history, as the people of God, but as a powerful nation, who, in the season of their greatness, numbered more than five millions of souls; a cultivated nation, the depository of all the knowledge which remains to us from the remotest antiquity, long before the oldest records of the comparatively recent Greeks.*" Josephus (*Contr. Ap.* i. 2.) eloquently observes: "It is a matter of astonishment to me, that, in all that pertains to antiquity, mankind imagine they must confide in the Greeks alone, but not in us, and in others. For my part, I believe that precisely the contrary course must be pursued, if we are disposed, not to follow vain imaginations, but to search for the truth from the original sources themselves; *for, among the Greeks, every thing is of recent date—a day or two old—the founding of states, for example, the invention of arts, the enactment of laws, and,—the most recent of all—their historical writings*."

Let us now consider the spirit which breathes in this very ancient history. Every where we shall find the most lively apprehensions of the presence and character of the Deity.

Diodorus Siculus styles the historian "*the minister of Providence.*" "*Let me not, O, thou divine Providence,*" says Lessing,† "*because thy footsteps are invisible, en-*

on which the critical journals have been formed, which in modern times, have so much engaged the learned of different nations and contributed to the advancement of literature. An interesting account of this most learned and accomplished scholar, is given in Berrington's *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, App. i. pp. 554--562. His *Myriobiblion*, or *Library*, has been several times printed; the best edition is that of And. Schottus, Rothom. fol. 1653" [Tr.]

\* *Weltgeschichte*, 1792. p. 198.

† *Ueber die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, p. 84.

*tertain a doubt of thy existence."* Divine vengeance reigns, with uncontrollable might, in the history of the world. Plato exclaims: 'Ο Θεὸς πάντα γεωμετρεῖ—*The Deity metes out all things.* In the history of the Hebrews, however, this all-pervading Deity appears, not as a dark and unintelligible *Adrastea*; but, as Lavater expresses it, as *an absolute God*,—a free and almighty Sovereign, who reveals himself to his chosen ones, and who, with wisdom and irresistible power creates and destroys. It is remarked by Philo: "The Greeks lost sight of the Creator in the creature." Just so, also, the historians who are ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ—*without God in the world*, forgot, and still continue to forget, that the God who metes out all things, is *above* and *in* the world. They affect to know the breath, which communicates life and motion to the otherwise dry and lifeless collection of bones, sinews, and flesh.\* If we are struck with the conduct of Herodotus,† who never forgets the hand of the Eternal, which regulates the movements of time, how much more important must it be, to discover the only God, the "*possessor of heaven and earth*"—thus he was styled by the royal priest Melchizedec,‡—energizing in the history of the Hebrews? The goddess of Vengeance is seen flying through the histories of the Greeks; but the Jewish and the Christian religion were the first to exhibit the counselling, provident, and affectionate God, in the affairs of the world. And what is all history worth, without a regard to the original source, from which the noisy streams of time proceed? "*God is a sphere*," says the profound

\* The remark of Herder, in his *Briefe uber das Stud. d. Theol.* iii. p. 323., that "Ecclesiastical history, without the Spirit of God, is like a Polyphemus, without his eye," is strikingly applicable to the history of the Israelites.

† See Herodotus, ed. Wesseling, p. 14, and Valkenaer's note, p. 216.

‡ 1 Mos. xiv. 19.

Proclus, "*whose centre is every where, whose circumference is nowhere.*" Where is this more true than in history.

Thanks, therefore, to the Hebrews for having immediately, and through christianity, instructed us in the genuine spirit of history. It must be acknowledged that the nations of the East, in general, endeavour, with a sacred zeal, to dissolve the world in God, and thus to destroy the liberty of the creature;\* while those of the West also strive, with a blind precipitancy, to evaporate God into the world. "*But, sunt certi denique fines,*" there is a middle-way, which he will find who is taught of the Spirit of God.

As faith in the universal and wise government of the Highest, reigns in the history of the Israelites, so also confidence in his paternal care of each individual, pervades their didactic poetry, and inspires love and consolation. Into these mysteries, the eye of the pious heathen cast many a wistful look; especially the enlightened eye of the noble Plutarch, who relates of Arion, that he desired to be rescued from a watery grave, for this reason particularly, that he might for the future confide more firmly in the gods.† And, indeed, in this as well as in other respects, we are constrained to exclaim, with John v. Mueller:‡ "*Will not the Chæronæan rise up, at some future day, as a witness for the truth against a goodly number of theologians?*" The conflict of the pious soul with sore afflictions, which serve to kindle its faith, as the fire waxes in the storm, where can we learn it better than in the admirable book of the Psalms? And here, too, we never find a desperate grappling with dark powers, but trials which generate hope—a hope that "*maketh not ashamed.*" But the internal excellencies of

\* It was a great offence to the pious Mohammedans, that the Arabian and Greek peripatetics admitted a φύσις. See the *More Novechim* of Maimonides, ed. Buxtorf. Basil, 1629. p. 159.

† "*ὡς λάβοι περὶ θεῶν δόξαν βέλβαιαν.*" See Plut. *Sept. Sapient. Conviv.* ed. Wytttenb. i. 2. p. 141.

‡ *Werke*, vii. p. 9.



these books—which, although written during a period of thirteen centuries (including the Apocrypha,) breathe the same spirit of divine elevation—are much too numerous, to permit a particular enumeration on the present occasion. We shall call the attention to one only—the idea which the Israelites entertained of the *holiness of God*, and the consequent sense of guilt, and feeling of humility. While the gods were regarded as more nearly resembling men, men also thought themselves to be more like the gods. An insolent haughtiness blighted all the nobler blossoms of virtue. Socrates alone, in all antiquity, knew himself to be rich in the midst of his poverty. Would that he could also have banished that sarcastic smile, which bears witness to his pride of his own humility. *There is a deep self-abasement which clings close to the side of real humility, with a simplicity at the same time which storms the very heavens.* And if David had been a tenfold greater sinner than he was, his sins had all been obliterated by that simple-hearted humility and penitence which was, is, and will continue to be, a folly to all the heathen. Tarry only in the perusal of the single book of the Psalms, and an inexhaustible store of the profoundest moral sentiments will unfold itself to our view. “In my prosperity, I said, I shall not be moved,” says the royal servant of God, “but thou didst hide thy face, and I was troubled.”\* “Before I was afflicted I went astray; but now have I kept thy word,” is the song of another man of God.† Such language of humility was not heard throughout the whole extent of proud Greece. We must, however, for want of room, leave this part of the subject, and endeavour to show,

II. *The profound wisdom displayed in the providential leadings, and in the religious institutions of the Hebrews.*

\* Read the excellent commentary of Luther, in Walch's edition of his Works, i. p. 1291.

† Ps. cix. 67.

Let us first of all speak of the providential leadings of the Israelites.

"History," says Leibnitz, "instructs us in the true philosophy." The observation of Clarke also is well founded: "In religion men are apt to be more easily wrought upon, and more strongly affected, *by good testimony than by the strictest arguments.*"\* Mankind, therefore, who are so much under the dominion of sense, cannot receive the truth by means of a system of abstract demonstrations, but only by means of facts; as he alone can rightly be said to *believe* the doctrines and wonders of christianity, who has himself experienced and witnessed their power. The language of Providence is the most familiar language of God, addressed to the heart of every individual. Doctrinal and ethical knowledge was communicated, therefore, to the Israelites, by means of the leadings of Providence.

Why, however, some one perhaps will ask, did God select only *one* people, and reveal himself to them? How comes it to pass that other nations advanced almost as far, without any special divine guidance? Why was precisely *this* people chosen? The first question is met by the ingenious St. Martin with a counter-question: "How does it happen, seeing so many members stood in need of the marrow-bones, that the body has but *one*?"† Lessing replies to the other questions, comparing the human race to

\* Discourse concerning God, the Obligations of Nature, &c. p. 199.

† In reference to this sentence, we are constrained to adopt the words of Castellio, on 1 Pet. iv. 6., "Hunc locum non intelligo, ideoque ad verbum transtuli." The sentence in the original runs thus: "Warum, da so viele Glieder der Markroehren beduerften, hat der Leib nur Eine?" If the passage means to intimate that *there is but one marrow-bone in the human frame*, it is anatomically incorrect. If it means that *while so many individual members or limbs required and are furnished with marrow-bones, the body or trunk contains but one*, it seems to be an inapposite reply to the question which it is intended to meet.—(Tr.)

an individual man: "Will education appear useless, because the children of nature sometimes overtake, if not surpass, the children of education?" And again: "Is it not of capital importance, that God should fashion to himself the most uncultivated and the most rebellious people, so that the struggle between the *divine* and the *human* might be developed in the most striking manner?" All this is undoubtedly true. But Lessing has overlooked the fact also, that no nation—the Persians the nearest; the Greeks, not at all—could cope with the Hebrews, in what was then, and is now, the material thing,—in humble and genuine knowledge of God: for every thing else is mere tinsel. He has also overlooked another circumstance, that a people whose eye is not single, is entirely unfit to receive a revelation; that, therefore, neither the imaginative Indians, nor the vain and speculative Greeks, nor the haughty Romans, could have received a revelation without marring it. If we consult the records of the Hebrews, we shall discover that the experimental knowledge of God, communicated through the medium of the senses and visible divine interpositions, was the main thing which prevented the entire apostacy of the corrupted race from that God who exclaims so emphatically: \* "For who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it, and set it in order for me since I appointed the ancient people? And the things that are coming and shall come, let them show unto them."

By the side of the special providential leadings of the Israelites, we may place the *Law* and the *Prophets*, as divine means of grace. "Into this land of wonders," says John v. Mueller,† "Moses conducted the Israelites. From the summit of the mountain, where, of old, adoration was offered, the Israelites received their Laws. But the spirit of these laws was itself a wonder." This law, and the manner in which it was given, is become an offence to all unbelievers. But few of the heathen can extol the law as Strabo‡ does,§

\* Is. xliv. 7.

† *Algem. Geschichte*, i. p. 439

‡ Lib. xvi.

§ Origen, in his second book περὶ ἀρχαῶν, expresses the belief "that

Among its defenders, however, a great diversity of opinion prevails. The learned Spencer endeavours to show, that something must of necessity be borrowed from paganism, for the use of the people of Israel, if the stiff-necked race were to be prevented from entire apostacy. Opposed to him stands Witsen, who seeks to prove, that every thing which the Israelites possess, is peculiarly and appropriately their own. Between the two is Warburton, who, from the circumstance that only terrestrial rewards and punishments are insisted on, thinks to establish the divine origin of the Law. If, now, this one thing is indubitably certain, that the other nations have not been entirely neglected by God,—that they have derived many a divine *stamen* from the primeval revelation made to man; and if we seek to ascertain the principle of the universal economy of God, it will then appear to us perfectly clear, why the Israelites had so much in common with other nations. For, it seems to be established in the universal economy of the divine decrees, that a ceremonial worship and a sacrificial service should every where precede the worship “in spirit and in truth.” Whether the nations would not at once have received a system of spiritual doctrines; or, whether the Chinese and the Japanese are not already ripe for a purer faith, is beyond the power of any mortal to decide. We shall see and know, however, when the dial-plate is removed from the grand clock-work of the world.

We find, therefore, among all the pagan nations, imposing ceremonies; and among the Jews also, a splendid external worship; but—and here is the striking difference—monotheism, and a symbolical, and typical meaning stamp upon the Israelitic worship a peculiar character. The religious laws of the Jews had plainly two grand objects in view;—to inscribe monotheism upon the very tablet of the heart, and to awaken a lively sense of sin. *Sin, Sin!* This is the word which is heard again and again in the Old Testament;

a clear understanding of the reasons of the Israelitic economy, and of all the Levitical laws, belongs to the privileges of the future life.”

and had it not there, for centuries, rung in the ear, and fastened on the conscience, the joyful sound of *Grace for Grace* could not have been heard, at the time of Christ, as the watchword of the New Testament. What need of *Grace* have those heathen, who will hear nothing of *Sin*, while, alas! they feel but too much its destructive consequences? To this end was the whole system of sacrifices; to this end, the priesthood,—that all flesh might know that it is *grass*. It was obviously essential that thereby the law should prepare the way for christianity. In every view, the sacrificial worship must be regarded as one of the most unaccountable institutions of the ancient world. Strange, indeed, that uncorrupted nature, even without the aid of grace, should feel, in so lively a manner, its dependance upon God, and its deep pollution! Indeed, we are constrained to adopt the words of the wise *Messenger* :\* “Do you ask if this sentiment descended from remote antiquity? Or how this reverential fear of the unseen God, having once become current among men, could be propagated to the succeeding generations? The answer is easy. Water descends with ease, and finds its own way; but, by tracing the stream upwards, we arrive at length at a point which is the highest, and there the water no longer descends, but gushes from the fountain. It is a more difficult question than many are wont to imagine, how the first sacrificer came by the idea of a sacrifice.”†

\* Claudius' *Werke* iii. p. 65. [Matthias Claudius, who, from the titlepage of his miscellaneous writings (*Saemtliche Werke des Wandsbecker Boten*), was commonly known by the name of the *Wandsbeck Messenger*, was born in Holstein, in 1743, and died in 1815, and is numbered among the most original and ingenious writers of his day.] (Tr.)

† Grotius—what a man by the side of many of our day!—is of the same opinion. *De Veritat. Rel. Chr.* i. §. 7. “Sunt vero instituta quaedam ita hominibus communia, ut non tam naturae instinctui, aut evidenti rationis collectioni, quam perpetuae traditioni accepta ferri debeant: *qualis olim fuit victimarum in sacris mactatis.*



The belief also in one only God, what a tone of genuine piety it produced! This has not been hitherto sufficiently appreciated. The gods of the Greeks were exalted men, who, being unequal in might, were embroiled in mutual contentions. As he who knows no better protection and no surer defence, than the favour of a powerful party, never can attain to quietude and tranquillity; but, one while, full of anxiety, lest his party should be forced to succumb; at another, disquieted with solicitude, lest *he* should lose its favour, must cherish in his bosom an everlasting conflict and dread; so also was it impossible that an unclouded spiritual life could dawn in the bosom of a serious-minded Greek. He could not say with the Psalmist: "Truly my soul waiteth upon God." An unceasing ebb and flow must have disquieted the fainting heart, when one deity was known to hurl defiance in the face of another:

ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἔπιπτόσθω μὲν  
 Πυρὸς ἀμφίκης βόστρυχος, αἰθὴρ δ'  
 Ἐρεθίζέσθω βροντῇ, σφακέλω τ'  
 Ἀγρίων ἀνέμων· χθόνα δ' ἐκ πυθμένων  
 Αὐταῖς ῥίζαις πνεῦμα κραδαίνοι,  
 Κύμα δὲ πόντου τραχεῖ ῥοδίῳ  
 Ξυγχώσειεν· τῶν τ' οὐρανίων  
 Ἄστρων διόδους, ἔς τε κελευθὸν  
 Τάρταρον ἄρδην ῥίψεις δέμας  
 Τοῦμὸν, ἀνάγκης στερῆαῖς δίναις·  
 Πάντως ἐμέ γ' οὐ θανατώσει.\*

"Let the sharp and jagged lightning be hurled against me; let the air be convulsed by the thunder and the rage of fierce winds; let the tempest upturn the earth from its lowest foundations, and confound, in its frightful whirl, the waves of the sea and the course of the stars; let him plunge me,

\* Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, vs. 1045. ed. Glasg.

by the irresistible whirlwind, into gloomy Tartarus ; still, he cannot slay me." Such was far from being the case with the Hebrew. He knew that *his* God was the God of heaven and earth, who gave to all nations their habitations, to whom "every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear."\* The effects of this constant flowing forth of the heart toward the only living and the true God, are known to those who lead a spiritual life. What it means, to look away from man, and to look solely to God, was well understood by all the holy men of the Jewish and the Christian Church, by all the martyrs, and by Luther also, when he replied to the Prince Elector : "*You* cannot protect *me* by your might, but *I* can protect *you* by my prayers."

Such then were the effects of the faith in the only true God. Still more beneficent was the faith in the only living God, as *the Holy One* who reigns above the powers of Nature. The deities of the Greeks were dependant professedly upon Nature. Of course, there was nothing in their system by which the soul of man might range beyond the limits of time. Nay, terrestrial things were even consecrated in the eye of the Greek. It seemed therefore to him temerity, to lift himself above them and see them beneath his feet.

If we direct our attention to the political portion of the Law, we shall find that in this respect the institutions of Moses will cope with those of any other nation. The natural sentiment of humanity and equity was laid at the foundation, and from this principle proceeded most of the commands. Witness the humanity and gentleness toward strangers, widows, orphans, and even beasts. How tender is the prohibition (2 Mos. xxii. 21. xxiii. 9.): "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." And again (3 Mos. xix. 34.): "But the stranger that dwell-

\* Is. xlv. 23.

eth with you, shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself." Witness also the numerous commands concerning widows and orphans, in substance as follows: *Ye shall wrong neither the widow nor the orphan: for they will cry unto me, and I will hear their cry, and my anger shall burn, so that you shall be slain with the sword, and your wives shall be made widows and you children orphans.* Compare 2 Mos. xxii. 15., 3 Mos. xix. 32., 5 Mos. xv. 7., 5 Mos. xxiv. 10., 5 Mos. xxiv. 14. 17., and in relation to beasts, 2 Mos. xxiii. 11., 3 Mos. xxii. 24., 5 Mos. xxii. 1. And before all other commands, those which enjoin as follows: *Thou shalt love God supremely, and thy neighbour as thyself.\**

This Law and this religious service, were, it is true, a mere *vail*. They became, about the time of our Saviour, more and more spiritless and nerveless. Then it was that the winged Psyche burst from its *chrysalis* state, and extended its wings toward heaven. Until this happened, holy men were sent continually, down to a very late period, who breathed forth the Spirit of the Almighty, and enlivened the age. We poor mortals are in a fallen state, and so long as we are not enlightened from above, have no scale by which to measure what is Divine, when presented to us. Hence the contempt of the natural man for the Holy Scriptures. It is only after long wrestling and agonizing, that we come to participate in any illumination; and as in divine matters every one *knows* only as far as his own experience extends, so we become acquainted with what is divine in the Scriptures, just in the proportion in which it begins to increase in ourselves. This is particularly true in the reading of the Prophets. Their words must appear dry and barren to every heathen, and

\* On this and other points discussed in this Essay, I would refer the reader to George Mueller's *Philosophische Aufsätze*—a book full of profound thoughts.

we cannot be surprised to find him resorting, with a hundred-fold more gratification, to Homer and Anacreon. But when we receive the Spirit of God as our teacher, a new sense is generated ;—then we understand the prophecies, the miraculous annunciations, and the unfathomable depth of the spiritual meaning. More, however, of this below.

If we wish to obtain a correct view of the Prophets, we must transport ourselves entirely into antiquity. Origen (*Contr. Cels.* i. 36.) regards it as certain, that the heathen world had revelations of the future. That the Jews might not apostatize, it was necessary, says he, that they also should have their prophets ; and for these prophets they must have been indebted to God himself. From whatever source the pagan priests may have derived their knowledge of the future,\* the Jewish prophets had theirs undoubtedly from God.

\* For this field, the magnetical and somnambulistical phenomena of our day, furnish entirely new results. It fares however with these inquiries, as with the philosophy of Kant. Stilling thought, that Providence had now laid open another door, by which mankind might enter heaven ; inasmuch as philosophy herself had exposed her own weakness. How very few, however, is it probable, have thus arrived at the truth ! By the phenomena of magnetism, again, it was thought, that mankind must certainly be convinced of a God who reigns *in and over* Nature. In place of this, however, the advocates of pantheism undertake to prove, by means of magnetism, the identity of the soul and the body, and make Jesus nothing but a magnetiser. What shall we conclude from these things ? That the Gospel will be its own witness. Still, however, the theologian can always employ those phenomena for the advantage of his department. Nature is in itself indifferent. But as soon as a moral being begins to stir up its powers with good or bad intention, the kindred good or bad spirits join themselves to him accordingly. Besides, the more uncorrupted,—the more consistent with nature a man is, in so much the closer relation does he stand to surrounding nature. This remark serves to explain why it is that, in more ancient ages, universally, operations upon nature were frequent. It will also be plain from this remark, that *duo si idem faciunt non est idem*. Moses could command nature ; so could the Egyptian magicians also (if indeed

Anciently mankind lived in a more immediate connexion with the world above, than they do at present. Hence the lively sentiment, that nothing could be done *sine Numine*. It is from this point of view that we must regard the prophets. They must in every thing stand between God and man. Inasmuch as the conducting of the affairs of the Hebrews exerted a peculiarly important influence upon their religion—for the doctrinal system of the Israelites was inscribed in large characters upon their providential leadings—prophecy also must, of necessity, have an immediate reference to this. So long as the will of God was thus communicated to the souls of his holy ones, the people continued in an intimate connexion with their God. The new-fashioned notions of those, therefore, are altogether erroneous, who can see in the prophets nothing but demagogues and poets. Isaiah can with as little truth be styled the *minister of war*, in the cabinet of Hezekiah, as Tiresias, the minister of religion, at the court of Oedipus; or the Bramin Bidpai, Chancellor of state of the wise Dabschelim of India. Still more strange does it sound, to hear some speak of court-prophets, as of court-comedians. With what propriety can those be denominated demagogues, who manifested their zeal toward the kingdom, because the worship of God was sinking or rising;—who threatened wars only as the punishment of ungodliness, who promised peace only as the reward of piety, who never

they were not mere jugglers); to the former, therefore, every thing was possible; to the latter only *much* was possible. The principle of *self* is always corrupt; the principle of *the subjection of self to God* is always divine. Again, nothing can be more absurd and unhistorical than to refuse assent to all the accounts of oracular histories. How very definite and express are many narratives from those ancient times. I would call the attention of the reader to some important narratives of this kind, drawn from the Arabian ante-Mohammedan antiquities. See, concerning the prophetess Dharifat al Chair, De Sacy, in the *Memoires de l' Acad. des Inscript.*, xlviii. p. 492, 634, &c.



sought their own interest, who foretold the future and still continued herdsmen (as in the case of Amos), and who, on account of their severe chastisement of apostacy, must have been in continual dread of being slain with the sword and of being sawn asunder? Who would venture to class such men as these, of whom the world was not worthy, with Cleon *the leather maker*? And what kind of poetry do they think of, when they cite Jeremiah and Isaiah in the capacity of *poets*? The external form was nothing in their estimation. They could not therefore, out of regard to the form, be styled poets. The spirit, however, and the towering flight of the thoughts, certainly cannot be denominated *merely* poetry, provided we believe the Spirit of God to be actively operating upon the souls of the men, and see more in their books than the lofty aspirations of the human powers. If the Spirit of God announced what lay beyond the sphere of human knowledge, then the words of the prophets were not merely external exhibitions of the movements of the soul within; they were the *words of God*. If not, how could the prophets complain of false prophets,—foretellers of the future, whom God had not commissioned? But even admitting they could have done this, under the influence of arrogance and self-delusion, how can we account for the existence of a fact such as we read of in Jer. xxviii.: “And Hananiah spake in the presence of all the people, saying, Thus saith the Lord, Even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, from the neck of all nations within the space of two full years.” Then said the prophet Jeremiah unto Hananiah the prophet, Hear now, Hananiah, The Lord hath not sent thee; but thou makest this people to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will cast thee from off the face of the earth: this year thou shalt die; because thou hast taught rebellion against the Lord. So the prophet Hananiah died the same year, in the seventh month.” Is it possible that Moses could have meant

by a prophet, a poet and a well meaning demagogue, when he threatens, 5 Mos. xviii. 20.: "But the prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak \* \* \* \* \* even that prophet shall die." And again, in vs. 21.: "If thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously; thou shalt not be afraid of him."

We now proceed to the third and most important point, viz. to show,

III. *The entire dependance of the New Testament upon the Old;—and that Christ is the sum and substance of the Old Testament:* for, "Non sapit vetus scriptura, si non Christus in ea intelligatur\*—*The Old Testament is savourless, if Christ be not tasted in it.*"

This intimate connexion between the New and the Old Testament, may be viewed in a four-fold light.

1. The principal features of the New Testament ethics are found also in the Old Testament, and seem to have originated there.

2. The system of doctrines of the New Testament, is the development and illustration of the doctrine of faith, contained in the Old Testament.

3. The prophecies of the Old Testament are fulfilled in the New.

4. Christ is the centre of all prophecy.

In regard to the ethics of the New Testament, we may remark that three things unite to constitute the harmony of the Christian life—*humility, faith and love.* Of all these, the presentiment and elementary principle existed in the

\* Aug. Tr. 9. in Joh.

Jewish religion, and of the first two, in the Jewish religion *alone*. We have seen that humility was the scope of the sacrificial system. The priesthood and the Law were ordained for the purpose of awakening *a sense of sin*. Hence we find such frequent and striking allusions to humility in the Old Testament. "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit."\* He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?† "For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones."‡ "For all these things hath mine hand made, and all those things have been, saith the Lord: but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word."||

It seems, then, that lowliness of mind, and a meek, humble, and broken spirit, which the heathen regarded as a blemish,§ were regarded by the Hebrews as the proper temperament of the soul; and while the heathen extolled the "*elatio animi*," and the "*Συμὸς ἀγανὸς*," it is recognized as a prominent feature in the economy of the God of Israel, that, "He resisteth the proud but giveth grace to the humble."

If, in reference to this important point, we examine the views of the pagan nations of the East, we shall find, it is true, among them, something of a more elevated character, than among the Greeks. But, in their rage for speculation, they found themselves at length upon a giddy elevation. "Father, mother, property, passions, every wish, must be relinquished in order to arrive at that state of self-annihila-

\* Ps. xxxiv. 18.

† Micah. vi. 8

‡ Is. lviii. 15.

|| Is. lxvi. 2.

§ Cic. de Off. iii. 32.

tion in which we can contemplate the Deity :” says the Indian-Chinese book *Sucheulhchangking* \* “When the true light of God enters, then is the sense of self-annihilation so great, that knowledge also ceases :” is the doctrine of the Nyaya sect.\* Thus it appears that self-annihilation, for the sake of God, was a doctrine of the speculative East. This doctrine is unfruitful in the practical benefits of life. Still a deeper meaning lies in these doctrines than in those of the Grecian voluptuousness.

Another christian virtue, which is found in its elementary state in the Jewish religion, is *Faith*—a virtue utterly unknown to the pagan world. Faith, in the christian sense, is “a firm belief and clear anticipation of a more exalted stage of existence, into which we enter through a preparation of heart, although its *nature* cannot be fully comprehended by us. Inasmuch as we carry about with us, in the interior of our heart, the image and the seed of a more exalted existence, as strangers and pilgrims in the world in which we live, we can, from this very circumstance, be satisfied within ourselves, of the reality of the light which beams to us from that higher stage of existence, and feel within ourselves the truth of the more exalted life which is destined for us. The Apostle John, therefore, declares, not merely emphatically or figuratively, but with a profound and direct meaning: ὁ πιστεύων—ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον.—μεταβέβηκεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν. “He that believeth—has life everlasting—has passed from death unto life.” The Saviour himself points out, most clearly, the profound meaning of this passage, when he says: τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ, γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλομέ-νου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. “But the water that I will give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.”\*

\* *Mem. de l' Acad.* xxxviii. p. 320.

† Ayeen Akber. ed. Gladwin, p. 397.

‡ Neander's Bernhard, p. 332.

In this divinely profound sense of the word, the Hebrews were unacquainted with *Faith*. But the cordial, unconditional resignation to God, which appears in the lives of the pious Fathers of the Old Testament, was the most excellent preparation thereto. With what vigour did this spiritual life display itself, when Abraham, in obedience to the divine command, could resign his son—his only heir, the offspring of many prayers, *in whom was the promise of the Seed*. In the visions of the night, the well known voice was heard. In the morning he departs with two of his trusty servants. To no one, neither to the mother, nor to the son, nor to the servants, does he make known the conflict of faith. His lacerated heart betrays itself only in the memorable words: “My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering.” This is a faith—this is a submission, which might well exalt the patriarch to be the “Father of the faithful.”\*

Thus does the idea of submission in faith run through all the books of the Old Covenant: nay, we might even tarry at the word *Covenant*, and contemplate in it the magnitude of the idea of *faith*. What a thought! *God covenants with man!* “A presumptuous idea, if our own invention, a lofty one, if revealed to us;” says George Mueller. It could hardly be otherwise than that men should walk in the strength of faith, although this in itself is so difficult. “All the circumstances in which we are involved,” says Philo,† “persuade us to confide in our night, our health, our strength, and our wisdom: to look away, therefore, from all these things, and to depend solely upon God, μεγάλης καὶ ὀλυμπίου διανοίας ἔστι *is an indication of a great and heavenly mind.*”

But how is it with regard to *Love*, the remaining christian virtue? Can we discover the elements of this virtue also

\* Compare what a profound thinker, Baumgarten-Crusius, in his *Einleitung in die Dogmatik*, p. 67. says on the subject of Faith.

† *Quis rerum divinarum haeres*, ed. Pfeiffer iv. p. 43.



in the Jewish religion? Undoubtedly we can. The Lord God thus commands the Israelites (5 Mos. vi. 5.): "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." And what does he promise—he who thus commands the love of his people—in order to show himself worthy of their love? "For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee" (Is. liv. 10.). And again: "But Zion said, The Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee" (Is. xlv. 14, 15.).

This is indeed the language of love, and a language which might well stir up the hearts of the Israelites to fulfil, on their part, the command of love. And if, after so many affecting exhibitions of love, the lightnings of wrath are seen to play, still the heart was already resolved and the soul warmed. And this must have been the effect also of the bare consideration of the providential leadings with which the people were favoured, whom the Holy One had chosen for his peculiar possession. These guidances induced a hearty confidence; and no such confidence can exist without love.

Here we are met by the old objection: "The God of Israel was a *jealous, angry, wrathful* God." But the expression נָקִיף אֱלֹהִים—a *jealous God*, denotes, not a *wrathful, angry* God, but a God who suffers not his rights to be invaded, and exercises a tender vigilance over the object of his affection. In this sense it becomes a precious epithet. Besides this, the reply of Origen may be adduced, in answer to the objection: "The sinner is not merely to be treated with *clemency*; his *fears* also must be appealed to." Even now, after the message of love is come to us in the Gospel, we may still peruse those startling passages, and acknowledge with hu-

mility that they conduce to *our* edification and safety, in the midst of our constantly recurring infirmities. Besides, this jealous God addressed his chosen ones in quite a different tone from that in which he speaks to the rebellious people.\* When the Lord passed by before Elijah, it is said (1 Kings xix. 11, 12, 13.): “And a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks, before the Lord ; but the Lord was not in the wind : and after the wind an earthquake ; but the Lord was not in the earthquake : and after the earthquake a fire ; but the Lord was not in the fire : and after the fire a still small voice. And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face in his mantle and went out, &c.”

Such then is the love of God towards men, and such the love of men towards God. In regard to the love of men for their fellow-men, how can it be expressed in more direct terms than in the command : “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.” Here the idea of love is sufficiently elevated. That some degenerate minds, at a later period, lowered and contracted this precious command, cannot hurt the command itself.

Thus we see, even in Moses and the Prophets, the embryos of the celestial and harmonious christian virtues ; and as soon as humility and love burst forth into full and vigorous life, we find lowly and affectionate hearts, as that of an Anna, an Elizabeth, a Mary, a Simon, and a Joseph, ready to welcome them.

And if the moral elements of the christian life can be found in the Jewish religion, the same may be said of the doctrines of christianity. A two-fold view, however, may be taken of

\* It is well remarked by Procopius (on Sam. i. 21.): ἐπισημαίνεσθαι δεῖ ὡς οἱ ἐπιστήμονες τοῦ προσέρου λαοῦ ᾗττον ἐφρονίζον τῶν σωματικῶν τοῦ νόμου παραγγελμάτων. To which we may add, that all were required to sacrifice in the Temple. Elias, however, sacrifices upon Carmel, and Samuel in Mizpeh.

this matter. All theologians are ready to acknowledge the intimate connexion between the doctrines of the Old and those of the New Testament. Some of them, however, affect to show how, in the natural progress of human things, the Gospel might grow out of the religion of the Hebrews; while others, admitting an unremitting providential guidance of the children of Israel, endeavour to prove that the "Ancient of days" designed gradually to prepare all hearts and minds for the coming of the Saviour of the world. Adopting a process of inductive reasoning, we may arrive at the truth by showing that the Hebrew nation is an inexplicable riddle to the mere historian; that their sentiments are a wonder, their law a wonder, their leadings a wonder; and then, from the circumstances and condition of the world, and of the Hebrew nation at the time of Christ, as well as from the history of our Lord, we may conclude, with the utmost confidence, that christianity never could, in the natural course of things, have grown out of the Jewish religion. Still this mode of reasoning may not prove so convincing, as to enter into the doctrine of redemption, and to become acquainted with the power of the Holy Spirit, and then, on the authority of Christ, to look for more in the religion of the Jews, than at first sight presents itself; and to admit no natural development without the special superintendence of God. He who pursues this course—who suffers himself to be born again of the Holy Ghost—is liberated from all doubts; for it is not, properly speaking, the understanding that doubts, but the will.

Which now are the doctrines of the New Testament that are exhibited to us in the Old? In our opinion, all are found in the Old Testament, more or less clearly delineated. The proofs of this we cannot introduce here in detail, nor is it necessary. We confine ourselves to a remark on the history of the Old Testament doctrines.

It cannot be denied that many doctrines made their appearance, for the first time, after the lapse of many ages—

for example, after the captivity. Are these doctrines—the doctrines, to wit, of Immortality, of a Resurrection, of a Universal Judgment, of Demons,—all of foreign origin? And if so, are they therefore false and fabulous? Unfortunately the testimony out of those times is so deficient, that, without being able to adduce any thing satisfactory, we are driven to hypothesis. Resting on the authority of Christ, and listening to the words of Cicero and of Augustine: “*nulla falsa doctrina est quae non aliquid veri permisceat*,” we may admit that in every ancient religion, there were some divine elements. This is particularly true of the religion of the Parsees. He has not left himself without a witness in any nation.

Now we find, on the other hand, allusions to various doctrines, in the books of the Old Testament; for example, to the doctrine of Immortality, in the translation of Enoch and Elijah;\* to the Resurrection, in Ps. xvii. 15;† and to the Universal Judgment, in the innumerable passages where the expression occurs יוֹם נוֹרָא “*the great and terrible day of the Lord*,” and finally, to the doctrine of Evil Spirits in Gen. iii. where the serpent as certainly denotes the “father of lies,” as in the Zend-avesta, it denotes Ahriman; and in Mos. xvi. 3. 10. 26., where Gesenius also adopts the meaning, *evil spirit*.‡ Hence we are constrained to believe (as De Wette, on Ps. cciv., supposes, and as Drusius before him

\* Compare 1 Kings xix. 4. where Elijah exclaims; “Now, O Lord, take away my life”—in which expression a peaceful and happy removal is intended, a violent one is denoted by another word מוֹתָא.

† See De Wette on this passage: ‘If our view of the passage be correct, we have found here, in this psalm, the hope of immortality.’

‡ The Jews have also recognized an evil spirit—*Asasel*: see Eisenmenger *Entdecktes Judenthum* I. p. 823. 325. The Christians of St. John also have an evil spirit of this name. Vid. Onomasticon ad Libr. Adami. p. 31.

had attempted to prove,) that the Hebrews also had a kind of secret doctrine, which was handed down traditionally among the better informed and wiser sort, and faintly glimmers, now and then, through their common didactic writings. In support of this opinion, we might also adduce the universal admission among the Jews of a *תורה שבעל פה*—an *oral law*; at least we may conclude, from this universal admission, that the opinion is not entirely without foundation. If this supposition then be well founded, the circumstances of declining Judaism and those of declining paganism, are very similar. Creutzer has shown that the heathen, as soon as christianity threatened to subvert their entire system, brought to view whatever in their mysteries bore a resemblance to the christian doctrines,\* and here and there accommodated it perhaps to the christian system. In the same manner, as it seems, the Jewish religion came, in the dispensations of Providence, into such close contact with the Persian doctrines, that the instructions which had long been bequeathed from one to another in cautious secrecy, at length were published, were illustrated and perfected by their close connexion with the Persian doctrines, and thus served to lay the foundation for the new order of things which Christ introduced.† This appears to us to have been the true origin of these doctrines. Providence designed that they should be disseminated, just before the advent of Christ, in order that

\* Compare what Mosheim says in his treatise: "*De turbata per Platonicos Ecclesia*," §. xxv. and Hebenstreit: "*De Jamblichi doctrina, christianae religioni, quam imitari studet, noxia*."

† How little ground we have to reject all the doctrines of the extra-Jewish world, is manifest from the fact that so much in the Mosaic ritual was of Egyptian origin, and was consecrated only by its reception into the Jewish religious service. It is universally the case that where things divine have gained the ascendancy of things profane, the previous form of the profane is not obliterated, but is rendered sacred.



he who was merely to bring the new Spirit, and, by means of this, to destroy the veil of the law, and to illustrate these doctrines, need furnish no system of doctrines, but merely announce, by his precepts and his life, the one great doctrine: "*God hath so loved the world.*" Those post-Babylonian doctrines were illustrated, however, by the instructions of Jesus and the Apostles to such a degree, that they appear in an entirely new and spiritual light,\* as the pure and disembodied spirit, escaped from the lifeless body of the Rabbinical system.

Let us turn now to the third connecting link between the Old and the New Testament, viz. the Prophecies. And here we may distinguish between such as relate in general to the times of christianity—the kingdom of Heaven upon the earth; and such as treat merely of the person of the Saviour. If any portion of the Scriptures has suffered from a loose treatment, it is the prophetic portion of the Old Testament. Without considering that the New Testament was composed by the disciples of our Lord, within the space of a few years, whilst the Old Testament was written, during the space of eleven centuries, by priests, kings, neatherds, and legislators—all, however, impelled by one and the same spirit;—without considering this, the exposition of the Old Testament was conducted like that of the New, as if all its books had been the production of one and the same age. But we who stand, as it were, upon the summit of almost six thousand years, must survey, with an eye that takes in the whole extent of universal history, the ages that are past, in order rightly to understand the plan of the "Ancient of Days,"

\* Compare, for example, what Sueskind (*Magazin*, x. p. 92.) says on the notions which the Jews entertained concerning the Messiah, as about to awaken the sleeping dead, and to judge the world; and concerning his kingdom at the end of the world. This learned and faithful theologian exposes the wide difference between the Rabbinical and the christian exhibition of the doctrine.

even in the history of the Jewish people. He, however, "who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span," has also set bounds to the times of knowledge; and if thousands on thousands of years must roll away, ere the bucket be filled, drop by drop, still we must believe that "with him a thousand years are as one day," and exclaim with the prophet: "Who hath taught him knowledge and showed to him the way of understanding?"

Thus we find that the idea of a Kingdom of God, of a Day of Judgment, and of a Spiritual King of Israel, unfolded itself gradually among the people of God. It is not our design here to run into detail, but to present only the prominent ideas. There are implanted in the human soul certain *semina eternitatis*—*seeds of eternity*, as Jos. Scaliger styles them; that is, certain enlivening conceptions, which a rational faith embraces and clings to in the ceaseless whirl of temporal affairs. Such sentiments were prevalent among the heathen of more ancient times, and are still prevalent among many of the heathen without the limits of Europe. In Europe, however, many considered themselves too wise to retain and acknowledge such sentiments. Would that the words of the late genuine philosopher\* were taken to heart and their truth felt. "The conviction is indeed spreading abroad, how very slender is the foundation upon which rests that vaunted quality, denominated of late years, *strength of mind*; and that it demands a much greater *strength of mind*, to believe, without cavilling and without the mania for explanation, the mysteries of Religion, than to reject, as insipid and weak, every thing which will not forthwith harmonize with the most common rules of reason and philosophy."

As examples of such "seeds of eternity," we may mention

\* Solger's *Philosophische Gespräche*—a book fraught with profound, valuable and correct views. See pp. 191. 195. 216, 217. 219.

the notions of God, of Liberty, and of Immortality, comprehended and held by the sound mind, through the instrumentality of a faith which transcends all knowledge,—which *observes* rather than *demonstrates*, and *justifies* rather than *construes*.\* Upon the same foundation rests also the notion of a primeval happy condition of man, of an intimate connexion between the spiritual and the material world, of a revelation from God, of a Saviour of the world, and of a blissful eternity. Among all the nations of the earth, the feeling of these truths displayed itself, and continues to display itself, in various ways. Among the Jews, however, this seed grew gradually till it became “a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.” Two stars were seen by their wise men to twinkle in the dubious twilight—a period of terrestrial felicity, and a Redeemer. As the time approached, however, when both should appear, these stars shed continually a brighter and more certain light.

True, the hope of a Redeemer was cherished in other nations also, under a variety of forms. The Chinese, the Tibetans, the Indians, the Persians, and the Greeks, possess their traditions concerning the golden age and its return.

\* It promises to be an advantage to many young and inexperienced minds, that the spiritless abstraction of the philosophy of our day, is carried so far and with such consistent conclusiveness, as to render it manifest, that the end of all such speculation can only be a comfortless *material* or *ideal Pantheism*, which robs us of God, of Liberty, and of Immortality.\* If, however, philosophy would leave its regions of speculation, and consider attentively, and with the caution which becomes it, the everlasting wants of man, which can never be denied, it would then be content to see christianity entirely founded upon these wants. Then, with Koeppen (*Philos. des Christ.* i. p. 30.), it might prove even the doctrine of Original Sin,—the fundamental doctrine of a living Faith.

\* For an *impersonal* God is *no* God, an *ideal* Liberty, *no* Liberty, and an *ideal* Immortality, *no* Immortality.

Among the Indians, we find Chrishna, among the Persians Oschanderbami, among the Irish, the hero Thor, as the personage who is to effect the deliverance. But fable glimmers with a doubtful and changeable light. Among the Jews, on the contrary, the Messiah is the fixed and the bright centre of all hope. At every period, they believed him near at hand, as the Apostles did in regard to the Day of the Lord—the second appearance of the Messiah. I do not say, indeed, that in Gen. iv. 1. Eve supposed already that the Messiah was to come from her womb. Passing by other arguments which might be mentioned, the Fathers of the Church discover in this passage no prophecy. But Jacob, beyond a doubt, believed his appearance near at hand. So also did David. It cannot, therefore, with any justice, be urged as an objection to the ninth chapter of Isaiah, that the prophet mentions, as a sign of a thing at hand, an event which was shrouded in the darkness of distant futurity; for by the Israelites it was regarded as most certain, that the Redeemer would come, and whilst the prophet recalls to their recollection this most certain fact of redemption, and enlarges upon it, and confirms it, the promise which lay nearer at hand becomes more certain and established. Nay, the notion of a Messiah was so very prominent in all the imaginations and conceptions of the Hebrews, that in the eleventh chapter the prophet recurs to it again, inasmuch as this personage who was to come, was to satisfy every want, to procure peace upon earth, and to re-establish righteousness, holiness, government, religion and law. Beyond all controversy, in the promise of the Seed, in Gen. iii., which should bruise the head of the serpent, the Messiah is meant. This the christian asserts as confidently, as the Indian does that the serpent, whose head is bruised by Chrishna, is the evil spirit;\* or as the pagan Icclander does that the dragon,

\* Maurice's *History of Hindostan* ii. p. 290.

whose head is bruised by Thor, is the Devil.\* This precious promise descended, in early times, from generation to generation, until He came "who should come." According to the doctrine of Zoroaster, in the last days of the world the holy man Oschanderbami (Oschanderbegha), will come to contend with the evil spirit, for the space of twenty years. He will at length obtain the victory, justice will return, kings will render him homage, and peace will dwell upon the earth.†

This glorious hope beams forth again for the first time in 1 Mos. xlix. 10,‡ in the words of the dying patriarch, inspired by the breath of the Eternal. Whether the Messiah is intended in 5 Mos. xviii., admits of doubt. In the Psalms of David, the light of hope again shines with indubitable clearness. The Second, and the Hundred and Tenth Psalm, can be explained, by a sound exegesis, only of the Messiah.§

\* Edda, Fab. ii. 25. 27.

† Hyde *De Religione Perss. veterum*, ch. 31. Comp. Zend-avesta ii. p. 375.

‡ We particularly recommend to the reader to compare what Jahn has said, in his *Einleitung ins Alte Testament*. Vienna, 1802 p. 507. In the seventh or eighth century, appeared, for the first time, the reading שִׁילֹה. As late as the tenth century, the Egyptian Jew Saadiah translated it—*He whose it is*. Gesenius, also, by the *Shiloh*, understands the *Messiah*.

[As a compound, the word שִׁילֹה is composed of שֵׁ, equivalent to אֲשֶׁר, and לֵה, the same as לוֹ to him. The expression "*Until Shiloh come*" would then denote: *Until he comes whose it (the sceptre) is*. It may gratify some of our readers to see the different translations of this word, adopted by the ancient versions. From the Hexapla of Origen and the Polyglot of Walton, we extract the following. ὃ ἀποκρίψεται—for whom it is reserved: Aquila and Symmachus. τὰ ἀποκρίμμενα ἀντὶ—*the things reserved for him*: Septuagint. Qui mittendus est—who is to be sent: Vulgate. מְשִׁיחָא—*Messiah*: Targum of Onkelos. Pacificus—the peaceful: Samaritan version. Is cuius illud est—*He whose it is*: Syriac version.]--(TR.)

§ See Dathe Kuinoel. *Messian. Weissag.*



So far we recognise in the expected Messiah a *King*, or rather, a *royal Priest*. His Kingdom, however, is not yet described. A picture of it is first presented in the Prophets. Almost all of them beheld, with a prophetic eye, Him who was to come ; but, as the sun breaks through the cloud and spreads around it a thousand different hues, so the light of this celestial hope, puts on its various colours according to the mind from which it is reflected. Most of the Seers represent him as a royal priest. Isaiah, with a more definite perception, recognises him as *God*, styles him the "*Everlasting Father*," and designates even the place of his appearance, in the passage (Is. ix. 1.) unhappily mistranslated by Luther : "It shall not, however, (always) be dark where (now) is distress. Formerly he (Jehovah) afflicted the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali ; but then he will honour the land by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee, of the nations. The people that walk in darkness behold a great light."\*

Another interval succeeds, and another prophet beholds this same Deliverer, and delineates even his sufferings (Is. lii.). Malachi also, who closes the series of the divinely commissioned prophets, beheld Him who was to come, as "the Messenger of the Covenant of the Lord," who should "suddenly come to his Temple."† This "Messenger of the Covenant," however, is the very same personage that conducted the Israelites in all their journeyings, that is, the "Teacher come from God" for ever and ever.‡

Here closes the Old Testament. A silence succeeds for the space of nearly four hundred years. During this inter-

\* From Gesenius' German Translation.—(Tr.)

† Ch. ii. 1.

‡ The מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה—*Angel of the Lord*, is *Jehovah* in 1 Mos. xix. 24. : "The Lord rained \* \* \* \* \* fire from the Lord out of heaven." Compare 1 Mos. xxii. 11. and following.

val, every thing was ripening for the expected time when the foundations of the earth should be shaken. During this interval, was developed the doctrine of the *Logos*, and of *Wisdom*; and the Angel of the Covenant assumed the more glorious character of *Wisdom* and *the Word of God*, under which the Saviour of the world is introduced to us by the Evangelist John. The years which intervene from Malachi until the Baptist, constitute a period of vast importance and significancy. The *semina aeterna* which enlivened the religions of all the Asiatic nations, were brought toward western Asia. All that was valuable in these, and all that was adapted to instruct and enlighten the world, was concentrated in Judea, for the purpose of weaving into the texture of the Jewish doctrines, whatever, from this source, might be useful for all ages. How could John have delineated, in such worthy language, the dignity of his Master, unless, by the dispensations of Providence, the idea of the *Logos* had become universally familiar?\*

\* If the wise providence of God is manifest in bringing the West and the East into contact in Alexandria, why is it not equally so in the communication of ideas which flowed into the West, from the very ancient and venerable traditions of the East? Compare the following admirable passage from the Letters of John v. Mueller xiv. p. 299.: “*Tu me demanderas par quel moyen je me suis convaincu de l’origine divine de celui, qui est venu annoncer au monde l’immortalité: je ne parlerai point du sentiment intérieur de la vérité, qui pour mon cœur est une preuve suffisante; mais je te demanderois, si tu n’avois jamais vu le soleil, et si ton œil suivoit un beau jour tous les rayons, qui en divergent, pour éclairer l’univers, s’il les suivoit jusqu’à leur origine, s’il trouvoit le point, duquel ils sortent tous, ne croirois tu pas que ce centre, est le soleil? Or, cela m’arrive; plus j’étudie l’histoire et mieux je vois que les plus grands évènements de l’antiquité alloient tous, par un merveilleux enchaînement au but, que le maître de l’univers s’étoit proposé, de faire paroître le Christ avec cette doctrine dans le tems le plus propre à lui faire prendre racine.*”—“You will ask, by what means I am convinced of the divine origin of Him who came to announce Immortality to the world. I shall say nothing of the inward *feeling* of the truth, which for *me* is a sufficient testimony;

Side by side with the doctrine of the Messiah, in the prophets, we find the anticipation of his kingdom. This subject deserves a full and particular consideration. We are constrained, however, to restrict ourselves in its discussion to one view of it. Accordingly, we shall merely show the fluctuations of the ideas of the prophets on this subject,—sometimes rising to a glorious elevation, and sometimes remaining at a lower point. The humblest conception is that of a kingdom, in which Israel shall enjoy perfect tranquillity from without, shall be served by their enemies as by slaves, shall quietly devote themselves to God, and shall experience unexampled prosperity under a Governor of the race of David.\* Connected with this view is the idea also of extraordinary righteousness and holiness, which every individual will exhibit. “But ye shall be named the Priests of the Lord; men shall call you the Ministers of our God. \* \* \* \* For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causes the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord God will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations.”† “In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness.”‡ The Redeemer will come in behalf of the penitent and take away every sin. “And the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from

but I would ask you whether, if you had never beheld the sun, and on a clear transparent day, your eye should follow all the rays which pour from it to illuminate the system, up to their source, until it reached the point whence all diverged, you would not conclude that this centre is *the sun*? Now this is just my case: the more I study history, the more clearly I see how the most important events of antiquity were directed, by means of a wonderful concatenation, to the great end which the Lord of the universe had in view,—to bring about the appearance of the Messiah with this doctrine, at the very time when it was most likely to take root.”

\* Compare Luke i. 74. † Is. lxi. 6. 11. ‡ Zach. xiii. 1.

transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord.”\* “*I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and, as a cloud, thy sins: return unto me, for I have redeemed thee.*”† Blended with this glorious picture of the holiness and righteousness of Israel, is the expectation of the salvation which is prepared for the heathen nations also. In this well defined hope, that the whole heathen world will become acquainted with Israel’s God, the divine character of the prophecy displays itself with striking clearness. “Ho every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money, and without price.”‡ “Then thou shalt see, and flow together, and thine heart shall fear, and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee.”§ The prophecy mounts still higher in another place,|| where Judaism is described as almost obliterated; for the prophet announces *that the Lord would take of the heathen for priests and for Levites, and that missionaries from among the Jews should go forth into all lands to preach the Lord to the heathen.* Well then might the prophet foretell that the earth should “be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea,”¶ and “the Lord shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall there be one Lord, and his name One.”\*\*

It is beyond our present faculties to determine *a priori* the divine dispensations. We must deduce, from *facts* and *revelations*, our knowledge of the laws of God. It is not surprising, therefore, that the annunciation of the coming Salvation, was made in such a variety of ways, and in so general a manner. We remark, by the way, that whenever a divine revelation is blended with the affairs of time, it is

\* Is. lix. 20.      † Is. xlii. 22.

‡ Is. lv. 1.

§ Is. lx. 5.

|| Is. lxvi. 19. and following.

¶ Is. xi. 9.

\*\* Zach. xiv. 9.

more intimately connected with them, than the human understanding, reasoning *a priori*, would have been led to expect.\* Hence it happens, that the expectation of the king-

\* The ancients, both christians and pagans, have constantly alluded to the deficiency of all human modes of representing divine things, and of accommodating the ways of God to human comprehension. What golden words are those of Gregory Nanzianzen (*Opp.* ed Prunaeus, i. p. 545. in the Thirty-Fourth discourse): “ὥςπερ ἀδύνατον ὑπερβῆναι τὴν ἑαυτῶ σκιάν, καὶ τῷ λίαν ἐπιγεομένῳ (φθάνει γὰρ αὖτις τοσούτον ὅσου καταλαμβάνεται), ἢ τοῖς ὁρατοῖς πλησιάσαι τῇν ὅψιν δίχα τῶ ἐν μέσῳ φωτός καὶ ἀέρος, ἢ τῶν ὑδάτων ἔξω τὴν νηκτὴν φύσιν διαλίσθαι· ἔτις ἀμύχανον τοῖς ἐν σώματι, δίχα τῶν σωματικῶν πάντη γενέσθαι μετὰ τῶν νοημένων.”—*As it is impossible to overtake one's own shadow, how great soever our haste (for it always advances with as much rapidity as we employ in the pursuit); or to fix the eye upon visible objects, without an intervening medium of light and air; or to swim without water; so impossible is it also, for those who are yet in the body, dismissing corporeal things, to be altogether engrossed with those which are spiritual.* Origen also (*Opp.* ed Wirceb. xii. p. 316., in the Eighth Discourse on Luke), maintains that our conceptions of divine things will be the more glorious, just in proportion to our spiritual ennoblement: “Unusquisque nostrum ad imaginem Christi formans animam suam, aut majorem ei, aut minorem ponit imaginem, vel obsoletam vel sordidam, aut claram atque lucentem et splendentem, ad effigiem imaginis principalis. Quando igitur grandem fecero imaginem imaginis, id est, animam meam, et magnificavero cum opere, cogitatione, sermone, tunc imago Dei grandis efficitur”—This the correct idea of the nature of the prophetic vision. The same sentiment is expressed by Plutarch, in one of the most elegant and profound passages of his work *De Pythiae Oraculis* (*Opp. Mor.* ed. Wyttenb. ii. De P. Or. ch. xxi.): “As the body makes use of various members as instruments, so the soul makes use of the body and its members as instruments. The soul however is an instrument of God. Now it belongs to the instrument, to answer, as far as possible, the design of the user. It cannot however do this fully; and the nature of the user is tarnished by the nature of the instrument. One and the same object, when seen in concave and convex mirrors, appears of a thousand different forms. The light of the sun is deteriorated in the moon—its colour and splendour are changed, and its warmth is gone. But it is the same sun-light still. In the same manner as the moon reflects the light of the sun, does the soul



dom of God, unfolds itself in forms so diversified among the Hebrews. This also may serve to explain, why the universal conversion to the Saviour Jesus Christ, appears only as a turning to the God of Israel, and to the Holy Place at Jerusalem. But when the times were accomplished, then the design and meaning of the Spirit of God was clearly unfolded.

How shall we account for the fact, that whenever the Judgment is spoken of—the יוֹם נוֹרָא—the *terrible day of the Lord*, it is ordinarily accompanied with the annunciation of the salvation which is to come through the Messiah? The thought readily suggests itself, that the *good* never makes its appearance, without a lively conflict with the *evil*; and thus we might naturally explain this union and connexion. But the Lord himself unfolds to us its meaning. Even the Baptist, who saw the “Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world,” saw also, at the same time, the *fan in his hand*, and the *axe laid at the root of the trees*.—The disciples expected forthwith “the Day of Vengeance,” “the Woes of Time.” And what does Jesus do? He interposes centuries between his appearance and those woes—he distinguishes a *twofold appearance of the Messiah*. Instructed by these facts, we can readily see how ages crowded upon ages, in the perspective, to the minds of the prophets who looked downward through futurity; and how the appearance of the *terrestrial* kingdom was identified, in their minds, with that of the *eternal* kingdom of God. Now, however, the kingdom of heaven upon the earth, and that above, is one and the same; for, as soon as we become subjects of the dispensation of Grace by Jesus Christ, we are citizens of the everlasting *πολιτεία*. We feel the influences

reflect the ideas of God which have beamed upon it from above;—they are darkened and clouded by the mortal body, and the unceasingly active soul, which is unable, without a motion of its own, to give itself away to Him that moves it.”

which stream from above, and our home is in heaven. Hence the Saviour speaks of the kingdom of heaven, at one time as having already appeared, and at another as yet to come. If we assume this point of view, the *eight* significations of the word (*βασιλεια*) which Schlensæer gives,\* will flow together into *one*—into one, however, which is peculiar and everlasting.

Although all these glorious views might be still farther developed, we shall close with a few words about the typical and symbolical meaning of the History and Ritual of the Israelites. He who cannot approach this subject with an accurate acquaintance with the East, had better withhold his judgment. In the East every thing is symbolical. Greece also, in its earliest days, breathed the Oriental spirit, and this symbolical character pervaded also the mysteries with their ceremonies. It is perfectly natural, then, that in the erection of the Tabernacle and of the Temple, every thing should have a secret meaning. The Oriental is fond of immediate and intuitive modes of instruction. Coldly imaginative, and asserting only *one* kind of mental activity, viz. reflection, every species of discursive instruction is offensive to him. As Nature, unfolding its productions in the East without uniform regularity, constantly sprouts and grows, so it is with the Oriental in his mode of instruction. He presents the full and entire flower, crowded with an endless variety of materials; to this he adds another and another, without dismembering the rich *calix*, leaf by leaf. Accordingly, speculation with him becomes poetry; history, fable; and religion, symbolical. The notion is therefore incorrect, both of those who suppose that *none* of the Jewish ceremonial laws have any ulterior object in view, and of those who acknowledge a remote meaning only in *the principal* ceremonial regulations.†

\* Some valuable thoughts on this subject may be found in the short Essay entitled, *Aphorismen ueber den Zusammenh. des A. T. and des N. T.* by Allioli. Regensb. 1813.

† Those of the former class among the Jews are opposed by Mai-

In the same manner we may find much that is symbolical among the Indians, the Chinese, the Persians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks. The Jewish system, however, is distinguished from every other, by this particular, that in *their* symbols are unconscious but definite allusions to the future. Their symbols, therefore, not only point to the past, but prefigure the future. As the older theologians were very extravagant on this point,\* it becomes us to obtain such a settled and liberal view of the types of the Old Testament, as shall not be shaken by those who are to come after us. This may be effected by distinguishing accurately between the *ideal* and the *actual*, the *known* and the *unknown*. What I mean is this. We must inquire whether the fact in itself was to excite in the minds of the Hebrews, the expectation, that at some future day a similar fact would unfold itself in the Messiah; or whether they were to be familiarized merely with the *ideas* naturally suggested by means of facts, as in the case of the erection of the serpent in the wilderness, and by means of ordinances, as in the case of the various offerings for sin. The latter seems to be the truth, for we nowhere find reason to believe, that Moses or his people had the most definite and circumstantial conceptions of the coming Messiah. In this case, we cannot regard the types as known to them to be such; and their advantage will be confined to this circumstance, that certain notions, otherwise not

monides, in his *Mere Nevochim*, ch. xxvi. The latter opinion is defended by Thomas Aquinas in his *Quaestiones*.

\* Witsius, *De Oeconom. Foederum Dei cum Hominibus* IV. 6. A. 8. advances the following sentiment: "Licet modus in rebus sit, tolerabilius eum peccare existimem, qui Christum se videre arbitratur, ubi fortasse sese non ostendat, quam qui eum [non?] videre, ubi se clare satis affert." *Granting a golden mean in all things, still I consider his error more tolerable, who thinks he sees Christ where, perhaps, he is not to be found, than his, who fails to see him where he is distinctly visible.*

easily introduced, were thus to become universal among the people, in order to awaken still further ideas,\* and to prepare the way for the christian economy. In this sense, we may apply to the universality of the types, what Lehmus in his *Letter to Harms*, p. 48. says, with great propriety, of the prophecies: "The entire religious system of the Jews is, in the most appropriate sense, *a prophecy*; and the individual passages of their sacred books are merely the strongest expressions of that spirit which enlivens the whole mass." To the same purport are the passages Col. ii. 17. and Heb. x. 1., where the *σκιὰ* or *shadow* is the obscure and imperfect resemblance, which falls so far short of the glorious splendour of the reality, that it can excite but very faint ideas of it.† Let us hear what a recent and ardent, although not always perspicuous and luminous, commentator on the Gospel of John,‡ says concerning the symbol of the serpent in the wilderness: "The position which Jesus seems to assume in this allegory is this: He regards the Old Testament account as *an indefinite symbol of the Atonement*—as a *σύμβολον σωτηρίας*. And, indeed, it evidently embraces the two most important points in the notion of the Atonement, in the first place, a life-giving faith—that spiritual confidence, which, in the Old Testament, stood yet in need of sensible things, whereas in the New Testament it is *purely* spiritual in the regenerated family of the Lord; and secondly, the expiatory virtue of death in every thing which is sinful and corruptible; from which proceeds, in the Old Testament, an earthly life, in the New Testament, a heavenly one; in the former case figuratively;

\* Without such preparatory ideas, the author of the liii. ch. of Isaiah could not perhaps have taken up this prophecy.

† See Ran, *Ueber die Typologie*, p. 71. The researches of this writer, however, in this department, are not sufficiently profound and fundamental.

‡ Luecke, *Comm. ueber d. Schrift. des Joh.* p. 593.

in the latter, *in deed and in truth.*" In this sense the raising of the brazen serpent was also a type or prefiguration of what was yet to come, so regulated by Divine Providence, in order that, in later times, the faith in a spiritual deliverance, might confirm itself upon the certainty of the temporal deliverance. In regard to the symbolical meaning of the providential leadings of the Israelites, we may call to mind the passage cited above from Solger's *Gespraeche*, in which it is maintained that the collective history can be well understood, only when we can comprehend the divine ideas which it contains.\* We may also concede, that the ideas which are communicated through the history of the people of God, must be far more noble and important than those communicated by means of other histories. Further than this we cannot go. Conscious of this, we should hold ourselves in readiness at all times to make the *application*.

Thus we see that the writings of the Old Testament are rendered venerable by their antiquity, their perfect keeping, their doctrines, and their historical documents; that the Jewish nation stands pre-eminent, on the score of antiquity, steadfastness and wise legislation; and also that, in respect of morals, doctrines and history, the New Testament rests upon the Old. Let all those, therefore, who design to become labourers in the desolate and much neglected vineyard of the Lord of Heaven, peruse and receive the books of the

\* The words of Solger, to which he refers, are contained in a short note, (unfortunately overlooked by the compositor) on page 390, line 3. Although of no great value in itself, we insert it here because it is referred to in this passage; and that the author may appear, in his citations from others, as well as in his own views, in his true light; and that we may avoid, also, the imputation of a designed omission. "Every thing in the world has an allegorical sense. How significant does the study of history become, when in every capital occurrence a *grand idea* is presented for our contemplation." *Philosophische Gespraeche* p. 149.—(Tr.)



Old Testament, with that earnestness and sacred awe with which they deserve to be perused and embraced; so that every copy of the Word of God, which the venerable Bible Societies are distributing, may meet with a Philip,\* ready to expound what the Spirit has spoken in the obscure word of prophecy, and point to the bright and morning star that shineth in a dark place.

Those times are past when the Scriptures were trodden under foot. But let us take heed to ourselves, lest, in our modern agility, we leap clean over them. Let us approach this sacred volume, as one of exalted sacredness, and of immense importance to all;—with a holy seriousness, therefore, that we may prove whether it contains the truth in relation to our own hearts. Whoever reads the Bible with any other aim than this, had better turn to other food. We may apply to him what Porphyry says, in his treatise *περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων*, l. ξ. 27.: That he gives his “exhortations οὐ τοῖς τὸν πραγματικὸν βίον ἐπανελομένοις· ἀνδρῶπι δὲ λελογισμένῳ τίς τε ἐστὶν καὶ πόθεν ἐλήλυθεν, ποῖτε σπεύδειν ὀφείλει; for,” he adds, “we cannot tender the same advice to him who is constantly dozing, and, his whole life through, seeks for nothing but ano-dynes, and to him who continually strives to shake off sleep and to be vigilant.”

Disregarding, therefore, for the present, every thing at which the understanding stumbles, we ought to make proof of those portions alone which concern our own *hearts* and our corruptions. If those be once recognised as true and certain,† then will be excited that hungering after a Saviour, and after strength from above, without which we never can be sanctified and purified. When we have once attained to this firm and deeply rooted faith, then the words of the Saviour are of divine authority, every thing which the Bible

\* Acts viii. 29. and following.

† Let us keep continually before our eyes, Plato's image of the

contains, receives a higher meaning, and a spirit of exposition will be generated which the critically philological commentaries of our day do not possess,—which conducted the Fathers of the church in the early centuries; which conducted a Calvin, a Luther, and a Melancthon, into those depths of scriptural knowledge which the Spirit of God alone explores. It is well said by Bacon, Lord Verulam—also one of those genial spirits that bowed themselves beneath the Gospel: “Speculative philosophy resembles the lark, which mounts into the air with sprightly song and circling flight, but descends with nothing. Practical philosophy, on the other hand, resembles the hawk, which *soars into the clouds only to return with spoil.*” And where can “a man of longing”<sup>\*</sup> find satisfaction, in the midst of the straining and driving after fruitless speculation, which our age exhibits, if the heart be not full and the soul warmed? Every one who has discovered what it is which alone can satisfy the cravings of the human heart, will exclaim with Epicurus: χάρις τῇ μακαρίᾳ φύσει, ὅτι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐποίησε εὐπόριστα, τὰ δὲ ὀνσπορίστα οὐκ

chariot of the human soul, to which is joined a white and a black steed,—the black steed, however, pressing onward more swiftly and ungovernably; or the image of the Persian poet Ssaadi, in the *Bustan* (Cod. ms. Bibl. Berol. Lib. v.) who compares the human mind with its passions, to a boy who stands high upon a steep declivity, holding by the halter a perverse young colt. For there is no nation that has not a lively feeling of the dark interior of the human heart, which the Arabian denominates so appositely “*the grain of pepper in the heart.*”

It is the medicine and not the recipe that cures the disease. General instructions and prescriptions will be of little avail, to induce men to take up arms against *self*. A new and divine seed must come from without, and be implanted in the soul; a new weapon must be furnished, if *self* is to gain the victory over *self*. The love of the world and of sin is something *real*; the love of God must be something *real* also.

\* The old servant of Christ, Amos Comenius, thanked his God that from his youth upward he had been a “*vir desideriorum.*”

*ἀναγκαῖα*—"Thanks to nature, for having rendered necessary things, of easy attainment, while those of difficult attainment are not necessary." Moses also declares:\* "For this commandment, which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off: It is not in heaven that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it."

\* 5 Mos. xxx. 11. and following.

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**HERDER'S DIALOGUES**

ON

**The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry.**

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY JAMES MARSH,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 545. VOL. II.]

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## Herder's Dialogues,

*&c.*

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[Owing to unavoidable circumstances, the Fourth Lecture was broken off abruptly on page 545 of Vol. II., and it has not been in the power of the Translator to bring it to a close at an earlier period. A few additional remarks, at the close of this dialogue, in which Ossian is introduced, and the remarks illustrated by several passages from that poet, the Translator thought it best to omit.](Temp. Ed.)

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Who can understand the outspreading of his clouds,  
And the fearful thunderings in his tent?  
Behold he encompasseth it with lightnings,  
And covereth with floods the depths of the sea.  
By these he executeth judgment upon the people,  
And giveth also their food abundantly.  
With his hands he holdeth the lightnings,  
And commandeth them where they shall strike.  
He pointeth out to them the wicked,  
The evil-doer is the prey of his wrath.

E. All these images will occur in a more concise and beautiful form in the language of God, that follows.—The tempest is now rising upon them, and Elihu proceeds—

Therefore my heart is terrified,  
And leaps from its place with alarm.  
Hear ye! O hear with trembling his voice,  
The word, that goeth out of his mouth.  
It goeth abroad under the whole heaven,  
And his lightning to the ends of the earth.  
Behind him sound aloud his thunders,

He uttereth the voice of his majesty,  
 And we cannot explore his thunderings.  
 God thundereth marvellously with his voice,  
 He doeth wonders, which we cannot comprehend.  
 He saith to the snow, be thou upon the earth,  
 To the dropping shower, and the outpouring of his might;  
 So that all men acknowledge his work.

A. In the last words I like better the interpretation—He puts the seal upon the hand of every man, that is, they stand astounded and amazed, feeling that they are powerless—a feeling, that every thunder-shower awakens in us.

E. The terrors of the storm are farther described.

The wild beast fleeth to his cave,  
 He cowers himself down in his den.  
 Now cometh the whirlwind from the South,  
 And from the North cometh the frost,  
 The breath of God goeth forth, there is ice,  
 And the broad sea is made firm.  
 And now his brightness rendeth the clouds,  
 His light scattereth the clouds afar.  
 They wheel about in their course as he willeth,  
 They go to accomplish his commands  
 Upon all the face of the earth.

We must be Orientals in order to estimate the good effects of rain, and to paint with such careful observation, the features and the course of the clouds.—It is obviously a present scene, which Elihu is describing in what follows—

Attend! O Job, and hear this,  
 Stand and consider the wonders of God.  
 Knowest thou how God disposeth them,  
 How he kindleth up the light of his clouds?  
 Knowest thou how the clouds are swayed?  
 The marvellous doings of the all-wise.  
 How thy garments become warm to thee,  
 When he warmeth the earth from the South  
 Hast thou with him spread out the firmament,

That stands strong and like a molten mirror?  
 Teach us what we shall say to him,  
 We cannot speak by reason of darkness.  
 Shall it be told to men, when I speak?  
 Let one open his mouth—Lo! he is gone,  
 His light is no longer beheld,  
 His splendour is behind the clouds;  
 The wind passeth, and they are dispersed.  
 Now cometh the gold from the North,  
 The fear-awakening glory of Eloah.  
 As for the Almighty, we cannot find him,  
 The great, the powerful judge,  
 Unspeakable in righteousness.  
 Therefore do men reverence him,  
 The wisest behold him not.

E. The consequence of the young pretender's forwardness you perceive is, that he shows that to be impossible, which in the face of his declaration is on the point of taking place. At the moment, when he is convincing himself, that the darkness of the clouds is a perpetual barrier between men and God, and that no mortal shall ever hear the voice of the Eternal, God appears and speaks—and how vast the difference between the words of Jehovah and the language of Elihu! It is but the feeble, prolix babbling of a child in comparison with the brief and majestic tones of thunder, in which the Creator speaks.—He disputes not, but produces a succession of living pictures, surrounds, astonishes, and overwhelms the faculties of Job with the objects of his inanimate and animated creation.

A. Jehovah spake to Job from out of the tempest, and said to him,

Who is it, that darkeneth the counsels of God  
 By words without knowledge?  
 Gird up thy loins like a man,  
 I will ask thee, teach thou me,  
 Where wast thou,  
 When I founded the earth?

Tell me, if thou knowest.  
 Who fixed the measure of it ? dost thou know ?  
 Who stretched the line upon it ?  
 Whereon stand its deep foundations ?  
 Who laid the corner-stone thereof,  
 When the morning stars sang in chorus  
 And all the sons of God shouted for joy ?

E. We forget the geology and all the physics of more modern times, and contemplate these images, as the ancient poetry of nature respecting the earth. Like a house it has its foundations laid, its dimensions are fixed, and the line is stretched upon it: and, when its foundations are sunk, and its corner-stone is laid in its place, all the children of God, the morning stars, his elder offspring, chant a song of joy to the great architect and the glad welcoming of their younger sister. Next follows the birth of the sea.

A.

Who wrapped up the sea in swaddling clothes  
 When it broke forth from the mother's womb ?  
 I gave it the clouds for garments,  
 I swathed it in mists and darkness,  
 I fixed my decrees upon it,  
 And placed them for gates and bars.  
 I said, Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther,  
 Here shalt thou dash thy stormy waves.

E. I do not believe, that this object was ever represented under a bolder figure, than that, by which it is here expressed, of an infant, which the Creator of the world swathes and clothes with its appropriate garments. It bursts forth from the clefts of the earth, as from the womb of its mother, the ruler and director of all things addresses it as a living being, as a young giant exulting in his subduing power, and with a word the sea is hushed, and obeys him for ever.

A.

Hast thou in thy lifetime commanded the dawn ?  
 And taught the day-spring to know its place,  
 That it seize on the far corners of the earth,

And scatter the robbers before it?  
Like clay the form of things is changed by it,  
They stand forth, as if clothed with ornament.  
From the wicked their light is taken away,  
Their haughty arm is broken.

E. It is unfortunate, that we cannot more clearly represent the dawn, as a watchman, a messenger of the Prince of heaven, sent to chase away the bands of robbers—how different the office from that, which the Western nations assigned to their Aurora ! It points us to ancient times of violence, when terror and robbery anticipated the dawn.\*

A.

Hast thou entered into the caverns of the sea?  
Hast thou explored the hollow depths of the abyss?  
Have the gates of death opened for thee?  
And hast thou seen the doors of non-existence?  
Is thy knowledge as broad as the earth?  
Show me, if thou knowest it all.  
Where dwelleth the light? where is the way to it?  
And the darkness, where is its place?  
That thou mayest reach even the limits thereof,  
For thou knowest the path to its house,  
Thou knowest, for thou wast already born,  
And the number of thy days is great.

E. Every thing here is personified, the light, the darkness, death and nothingness. These have their palaces with bars and gates, those their houses, their kingdoms and boundaries. The whole is a poetical world and a poetical geography.

A.

Hast thou been into the store-houses of the snow?  
And seen the treasury of the hail,  
Which I have laid up for the time of need,  
For the day of war and of slaughter?

E. A vein of irony runs through the whole passage. God fears the attack of his enemies, and has furnished and secured

\* It is still the custom of the Arabs to go out on plundering excursions before dawn.



his vaulted treasury of hail as the armoury of war. In the clouds too as well as in the abyss every thing breathes of poetry.

A.

Where doth the light divide itself,  
 When the East wind streweth it upon the earth?  
 Who divided the water courses of heaven?  
 And traced a path for the storms of thunder?  
 To bring rain upon lands, where no man dwelleth,  
 Upon deserts, which no man inhabiteth,  
 To refresh the wilderness, and the barren place,  
 And cause the tender herb to spring forth.  
 Who is the father of the rain?  
 The drops of dew, who hath generated them?  
 From whose womb came forth the ice?  
 The hoar-frost of heaven, who gave it birth?  
 The waters hide themselves and become as stone,  
 The surface of the abyss is confined as in chains.

E. Rich and exquisite pictures both of the heavens and the earth! Above, the fountains of light gush forth, and the East wind scatters it over the countries of the earth, the paternal ruler of the heavens traces channels for the rain, and marks out their paths for the clouds. Beneath, the water becomes a rock, and the waves of the sea are chained with ice. Even the rain, the dew and the hoar-frost have their father and their mother.—And then follows one of the most beautiful and sublime views of the Universe—

A.

Canst thou bind together the brilliant Pleiades?  
 Or canst thou loose the bands of Orion?  
 Canst thou bring the stars of the Zodiack in their season?  
 And lead forth the Bear with her young?  
 Knowest thou the laws of the heavens above?  
 Or hast thou given a decree to the earth beneath?  
 Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds?  
 And enter into them clothed with floods?  
 Canst thou send the lightnings, that they shall go,  
 And say to thee, “here are we?”

Who gave understanding to the flying clouds ?  
 Or intelligence to the meteors of the air ?  
 Who by his wisdom hath numbered the drops of rain ?  
 Hath sent down the gentle showers from heaven,  
 And watered the dust, that it might unite,  
 And the clods of the earth cleave together ?

E. The description of the so called inanimate creation is here ended. But in the description no part of creation is without life. The stars, that joyously usher in the spring, are bound together in a sisterly union. Orion (or whatever constellation Chesil may be) is a man girded for action, and is the pioneer of winter. The constellations of the Zodiack rise in gradual succession like a wreath encircling the earth. The Father of the heavens lets the Bear with her young feed around the North pole, or (in accordance with another mythology and interpretation) the nightly wanderer a mother of the stars, who is seeking her lost children, the stars, that are no longer visible, is the object of his consolation (perhaps effected by bringing forth to her view new stars in place of those that were lost.) One, who by night observes the Bear in its course, as if feeding with its young on the fields of the sky, or the Zodiack, that, like a girdle with its beautifully embroidered figures, encompasses the earth, and rises gradually to view with the revolving seasons, and then reflects upon the times, when the nightly shepherds under an Oriental sky had these images continually before them, and in accordance with the fancy and feeling, that belong to a shepherd's life, ascribed to them animated being and form—one, who does this, I say, will perceive at once the starry brilliance and beauty of this passage, although, as to its conciseness and symmetry, and the connexion of its parts, it can be but imperfectly translated. It is the same also with the passage, in which God is represented, as giving understanding to the darkness, to the roving clouds, and meteors. The personifications both of feeling and of form in poetry vanish in ano-

ther language. Yet all these images, the sending out of the lightnings, and their reply, the going forth of God among the clouds, his numbering of the drops of rain, their gentle but copious descent at his command, are in the style of the most beautiful descriptive poetry.

A. You seem to be an admirer of this whole species of poetry—and yet our critics hold it to be the most barren and inanimate in the whole compass of the art. Some indeed will not even accord to it the name of poetry, and denominate it a heartless description of things and forms, that are indescribable.

E. If such be the fact, I agree with all my heart, that it does not deserve the name of poetry. Those miserable writers, who describe to us the spring, the rose, the thunder, the ice, and the winter, in a tedious and unaffecting style, are neither good in poetry, nor in prose. The true poetry of nature has something else, than a dull description of individual traits, to which in fact it is not principally devoted.

A. And what has it in the place of it?

E. Poetry. It makes the objects of nature to become things of life, and exhibits them in a state of living action. Look at Job. Here the earth is a palace, of which the builder laid the corner-stone, while all the children of God shouted for joy at the event. The ocean was born and wrapt in garments, like a child. The dawn is an active agent, and the lightning speaks. The personification is kept up, and carried through with consistency, and this gives to poetry its animation. The soul is hurried forward, and feels itself in the midst of the objects described, while it is a witness of their agencies. Tedious descriptions, on the other hand, disjoin them, and paralyze their powers. They exhibit but a tattered dress of words, abstracted and partial shadows of forms, where in true poetry we see actual and living beings.

A. But who, my friend, could venture to write poetry in the style of the Orientals? to represent the ocean as a child

in swaddling clothes, the arsenals of snow and hail, and channels for water in the heavens?

E. No one should do it. For every language, every nation, every climate has its own measure in matters of taste, and the peculiar sources of its favourite poetry. It shows a lamentable poverty to attempt to borrow from a people so diverse, yet we must adopt the same principles, and create out of the same material. He, to whose eyes and heart nature has no life, to whose apprehension it neither speaks, nor acts, was not born to be its poet. It stands lifeless before him, and it will still be lifeless in his writings.

A. It follows then, that the ages of ignorance had great advantages over those, in which nature is studied, and becomes the object of knowledge. They had poetry—we have only description.

E. What call you the ages of ignorance? All sensuous tribes have a knowledge of that nature, to which their poetry relates, nay, they have a more living, and for their purpose a better knowledge of it, than the Linnæan classifier from his bookish arrangement. For a general knowledge of species this method is necessary, but to make it the foundation of poetry would be about as wise, as to write it out of Hübner's rhyming dictionary. For myself I admire those times, when man's knowledge of nature was perhaps less extended, but was a living knowledge, when the eye was rendered discriminating by impassioned feeling, when analogies to what is human struck the view, and awakened feelings of astonishment.

A. It were to be wished then, that the times, in which those feelings prevailed, were again experienced.

E. Every age must make its poetry consistent with its ideas of the great system of being, or if not, must at least be assured of producing a greater effect by its poetical fictions, than systematic truth could secure to it. And may not this often be the case? I have no doubt, that from the systems

of Copernicus and Newton, of Buffon and Priestley, as elevated poetry may be made, as from the most simple and childlike views of nature. But why have we no such poetry? Why is it, that the simple pathetic fables of ancient or unlearned tribes always affect us more, than these mathematical, physical, and metaphysical niceties? Is it not because the people of those times wrote poetry with more lively apprehensions, because they conceived ideas of all things, including God himself, under analogous forms, reduced the universe to the shape of a house, and animated all that it contains with human passions, with love and hatred? The first poet, who can do the same in the universe of Buffon and Newton, will, if he is so disposed, produce with truer, at least with more comprehensive ideas, the effect which they accomplished with their limited analogies and poetic fables. Would that such a poet were already among us, but so long as that is not the case, let us not turn to ridicule the genuine beauties in the poetry of ancient nations, because they understood not our systems of natural philosophy and metaphysics. Many of their allegories and personifications contain more imaginative power, and more sensuous truth, than voluminous systems—and the power of touching the heart speaks for itself.

A. This power of producing emotion, however, seems to me not to belong in so high a degree to the poetry of nature.

E. 'The more gentle and enduring sentiments of poetry at least are produced by it, and more even, than by any other. Can there be any more beautiful poetry, than God himself has exhibited to us in the works of creation? poetry, which He spreads fresh and glowing before us with every revolution of days and of seasons? Can the language of poetry accomplish any thing more affecting, than with brevity and simplicity to unfold to us in its measure what we are and what we enjoy? We live and have our being in this vast temple of God; our feelings and thoughts, our sufferings and our joys are all from this as



their source. A species of poetry that furnishes me with eyes to perceive and contemplate the works of creation and myself, to consider them in their order and relation, and to discover through all the traces of infinite love, wisdom, and power, to shape the whole with the eye of fancy, and in words suited to their purpose—such a poetry is holy and heavenly. What wretch, in the greatest tumult of his passions, in walking under a starry heaven, would not experience imperceptibly and even against his will a soothing influence from the elevating contemplation of its silent, unchangeable, and everlasting splendours. Suppose at such a moment there occurs to his thoughts the simple language of God, “Canst thou bind together the bands of the Pleiades,” &c.—is it not as if God himself addressed the words to him from the starry firmament? Such an effect has the true poetry of nature, the fair interpreter of the nature of God. A hint, a single word, in the spirit of such poetry, often suggests to the mind extended scenes, nor does it merely bring their quiet pictures before the eye in their outward lineaments, but brings them home to the sympathies of the heart, especially, when the heart of the poet himself is tender and benevolent, and it can hardly fail to be so.

A. Will the heart of the poet of nature always exhibit this character?

E. Of the great and genuine poet undoubtedly, otherwise he may be an acute observer, but could not be a refined and powerful expositor of nature. Poetry, that concerns itself with the deeds of men, often in a high degree debasing and criminal, that labours, with lively and affecting apprehensions, in the impure recesses of the heart, and often for no very worthy purpose, may corrupt as well the author as the reader. The poetry of divine things can never do this. It enlarges the heart, while it expands the view, renders this serene and contemplative, that energetic, free, and joyous. It awakens a love, an interest, and a sympathy for all that

lives. It accustoms the understanding to remark on all occasions the laws of nature, and guides our reason to the right path. This is especially true of the descriptive poetry of the Orientals.

A. Do you apply the remark to the chapter of Job, of which we were speaking?

E. Certainly. It would be childish to hunt for the system of physics implied in the individual representations of poetry, or to aim at reconciling it with the system of our own days, and thus show that Job had already learned to think like our natural philosophers, yet the leading idea, that the universe is the palace of the Divine Being, where he is himself the director and disposer, where every thing is transacted according to unchangeable and eternal laws, with a providence, that continually extends to the minutest concern, with benevolence and judgment—this, I say, we must acknowledge to be great and ennobling. It is set forth too, by examples, in which every thing manifests unity of purpose, and subordination to the combined whole. The most wonderful phenomena come before us, as the doings of an ever active and provident father of his household. Show me a poem, which exhibits our system of physics, our discoveries and opinions respecting the formation of the world, and the changes that it undergoes, under as concise images, as animated personifications, with as suitable expositions, and a plan comprising as much unity and variety for the production of effect. But do not forget the three leading qualities, of which I have spoken, animation in the objects for awakening the senses, interpretation of nature for the heart, a plan in the poem, as there is in creation, for the understanding. The last requisite altogether fails in most of our descriptive poets.

A. You require, I fear, what is impossible. How little plan are we able to comprehend in the scenes of nature? The kingdom of the all-powerful mother of all things is so vast, her progress so slow, her prospective views so endless—

E. That therefore a human poem must be so vast, so slow in progress, and so incomprehensible? Let him, to whom nature exhibits no plan, no unity of purpose, hold his peace, nor venture to give her expression in the language of poetry. Let him speak, for whom she has removed the veil, and displayed the true expression of her features. He will discover in all her works connexion, order, benevolence, and purpose. His own poetical creation too, like that creation which inspires his imagination, will be a true κόσμος, a regular work, with plan, outlines, meaning, and ultimate design, and commend itself to the understanding as a whole, as it does to the heart by its individual thoughts and interpretations of nature, and to the sense by the animation of its objects. In nature all things are connected, and for the view of man are connected by their relation to what is human. The periods of time, as days and years, have their relation to the age of man. Countries and climates have a principle of unity in the one race of man, ages and worlds in the one eternal cause, one God, one Creator. He is the eye of the universe, giving expression to its otherwise boundless void, and combining in a harmonious union the expression of all its multiplied and multiform features. Here we are brought back again to the East, for the Orientals, in their descriptive poetry, however poor or rich it may be judged, secure, first of all, that unity, which the understanding demands. In all the various departments of nature they behold the God of the heavens and of the earth. This no Greek, nor Celt, nor Roman has ever done, and how far in this respect is Lucretius behind Job and David!

## Gleanings.



- I. The state of the French Protestant Church, about the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. From Quick's *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*. Vol. 1. p. 142.

Whil'st the Dragoons do thus ravage and ruin the Provinces, causing Terrors and Desolations where ever they come, Orders are dispatched to all the Frontier Countries and Sea-port Towns, strictly to guard the Passages, and to stop all persons who are departing the Kingdom. So that there was no hope left of saving themselves by flight. None could pass unless he brought with him a Certificate from the Priest of his Parish, or the Bishop of the Diocess in which he lived, that he was a Roman Catholick. Others are put in Prison, and treated like Traytors to their King and Country. All Ships of Foreigners lying in the Ports and Havens of the Kingdom are diligently searcht for Passengers; the Coasts, Bridges, Passages unto Rivers, and the Highways are all strictly guarded night and day; and the neighbouring States are imperiously required not to harbour any more Fugitives, and to dismiss or send back again such as they had already received, and Attempts were also made to seize and carry away some who had escaped into foreign Countries.

I have lying by me a Letter from *Geneva*, giving a doleful Account of the poor Refugees, who had fled thither. Possibly the Reader will not be displeased at the reading of it.

SIR,

FROM GENEVA, NOV. 1685.

It's a good while ago that the *French* Protestants began to secure themselves both here and in *Switzerland*, yet it was but very slowly e'er they retired hither, there being not on this side of *France* those conveniences for them as in *England* and *Holland*. However their number increased with their Persecutions; and this Honour is due unto *Geneva*, that tho' at first (whil'st we supposed there was not an

indispensable necessity upon our Protestant Brethren for their flight) we seemed somewhat cold as to their reception; yet having at last too great cause to believe it, I may speak it without vanity, that *Geneva* exercised a charity towards these Fugitives which will recommend her to posterity. I shall give you an undeniable proof hereof, and that presently. Ever since the first Troubles at *Montaubon*, and the great consternation of the other Provinces, *Geneva* never failed to receive and relieve with Monies and other Supplies, all that had recourse unto her, and for more than two Months together there passed not a day over our heads in which *Geneva* did not daily receive and supply 30, 50, 80, 90 Persons of all Ages, of both Sexes, and of all Conditions. But as we had an occasion of satisfaction from the Charity of *Geneva*, so we must also avow, that it was utterly impossible not to be affected with such a multitude of pitiful Objects as daily presented themselves unto us, and especially since the passages were guarded, some arriving disguis'd, on foot, in a deplorable condition, who, would they have left their God, might have been as to this World very happy. Women and Maids came to us in the Habits of Men, Children in Coffers packt up as Cloaths, others without any other precaution at all than in their Cradles tied about their Parents necks, some passing this, others that way, all stopping either at the Gates or Churches of the City, with Cries and Tears of Joy and Sorrow mingled together: some demanding, where are our Fathers and Mothers? others, where are our Wives and Children? not knowing where to find them, nor having learnt any News of them from the time they departed from their Houses. In short, every one was so affected with these miserable Objects, that it was impossible to refrain from weeping. Some had no sooner passed the first Barricado, but prostrating themselves upon their Knees, sung a Psalm of Thanksgiving for their happy deliverance, tho', poor Creatures, they had not wherewithal to get themselves a Meal's meat, and might have gone to Bed that Night supperless, had not the Lord of his great goodness extraordinarily provided for them. Thus we spent two Months, every day affording us new Adventures, fresh and eminent Examples of Self-denial, and that divers ways. I shall give you a few Instances. Among others, a Lady of great quality, the Mother of ten Childrèn, whose Husband, Monsieur d' *Arbaud*, had



revolted from the truth at *Nismes* ; this Lady, I say, forsook eighteen thousand Livers of yearly Revenue, without ever having been able to make a Purse to defray her Journey ; and, maugre all the Cares and Endeavours of her Husband and the Bishop, brought with her nine of her Children, and the youngest of them about seven Years of age : yet when she came here she had but two Crowns left her to maintain herself and them. It was but two days since that I bid Adieu to *my Lord the Baron of Aubaye*, who forsook above five and twenty thousand Livers of yearly Revenue, for the Gospel, and all his Stock was but thirty Pistols. I gave Letters of Recommendation to the *Baron of Temelac*, who is banisht for eight and twenty Years. This Nobleman forsook eight thousand Livers of good Rents, and departed hence with a very small Supply to seek some Employment where ever he can meet it, for his subsistence. *My Lord de Bougi\** departed hence some few days ago with eight or ten Gentlemen for *Germany*. I cannot reckon unto you an infinite number of other persons, whose Names are unknown to me. Six or seven came hither about five days since, who seemed to be the Servants of a Commander of *Malta*, bearing upon his Breast the great Cross. There came also a far greater Troop, who met at the Passes a multitude of poor People with their Wives and Children that had been stopt by the Guards, these force a passage for them with themselves, and conveyed them with their Baggage hither in safety. The City of *Lyons* hath given illustrious Examples of remorse of Conscience ; in particular, no longer than yesterday, we had one, and that a very sensible one. A Woman and her Son, to secure an Estate of an hundred thousand Crowns, had sunk under the temptation, and revolted unto Popery ; but they were so tormented in their Consciences night and day after their Apostasie, that they could have no peace nor rest till they had quitted both their Estate and Habitation. Some others who had miscarried in the same manner, durst not tarry (through the stings of their injured Consciences) any longer than for the first opportunity of escaping, and brought with them to this City their Abjuration. This Abjuration of theirs is a certain Paper in which is written the Name of this new Popish Con-

\* One of the most illustrious Noblemen of *Languedoc*.

vert, together with the Seal of the Bishop and that of the Magistrate of the place; by virtue of which they be freed from quartering of Dragoons, and are permitted to go and come and traffick when and wheresoever they please. And among our new Converts this Paper is call'd, *The Mark of the Beast*.\* I have seen several Copies of them.

But you must not imagine, that all are come unto *Geneva*. *Switzerland* hath entertain'd a vaster multitude than we, who have come unto them, and are daily coming from all quarters, some one way, some another, some as if they dropt down from the Clouds, that is from the tops of the Mountains, either of the *Franche County*, or from those of *Chablays*; in short, no man can tell how or which way they are come unto them. No longer than yesterday, in despite of all Guards at the several Passes, and dangers of the Gallies, there arriv'd hither no less than fifty Persons. A tall Chairman, who had been a Lacquey, as he was coming from his House, espying Monsieur *de Cambiaquet* passing over the Bridge, immediately stopt, and imbraced him in his Livery Coat. Four young Ladies of *Grenoble* disguised in Men's Apparel, after they had lodged four or five days in the Forests and Mountains, without any other Provision than a little Bread, and their Arms, having travell'd only by night, came hither but a few hours ago in this their gallant Equipage. Should I write you all the stories I know, we should never have done.

About a Fortnight since a panick fear of the Dragoons coming into the Land of *Gex* (where yet are reckoned about 17000 Protestants, though most of them very poor People) had so seized upon their Spirits, that one Morning, we saw at our Gates, five hundred Carts loaden with Houshold Goods, and follow'd with an innumerable multitude of Persons, who went and came from all Quarters. On that side of *Switzerland*, and of the Mountains, there was yet a far greater power of them, in so much that it affrighted all the Country. The Governour came and complain'd of it unto our Magistrates; but they replied, they could not shut the Gates of their City upon his Majesty's Subjects, and had they done it, there had been an unavoidable uproar among the People. However these poor People were desired to

\* See *Gleanings*, No. II. page 449, where this curious document is reprinted.

depart elsewhere, and not to expose our Commonwealth. To which they readily obeyed.

And in as much as the Governour, a notorious bitter Enemy of the Magistrates and City of *Geneva*, though without cause, would not fail to make a foul brabble of this business, and because our Resident was expected in three or four days, we intreated generally, but with a great deal of sweetness, the greatest part of the French to withdraw themselves, as soon as possible, which they did, and of their own accord, without delay ; but with a great deal of grief on our part, who lost at this first bout abundance of very godly People, with whose Company we were very much comforted. The Resident being arriv'd, told us he had no order to speak about these matters, yea contrariwise, that he was only to treat with them as with particular Friends. But three days after a Letter comes, by which, the King, all in Choler, commands his Resident to be instant with our Magistrates, that immediately they drive out of the City, all his Rebellious Subjects, and charge them to return unto their respective dwellings. But mark the stinging consequence hercof.

Hereupon the Council is assembled, and after divers Debates they resolv'd, though to the great heart-breaking and general sorrow of the Citizens, to make Proclamation, that all the French should immediately be gone. Which was no sooner ordered but observed, yet not without a redoubled grief on their hearts, who had not departed the first time, and would willingly have continued.

This Proclamation being published just as we were coming forth from Evening Prayers, it perfectly astonished and over-whelmed those poor People, who reckoned this expulsion as a second banishment from their Native Country.

In the mean while our Resident inform'd the King of the submission of *Geneva* unto his Orders, and that in the fairest manner, and dispatched also our Magistrates Memorial with reference to the particular Complaints and Accusations of the Governour of *Gex*, our Magistrates intending a sincere performance of his Majesty's Order, sent the Tithing-men to intreat every one to depart with the first conveniency. This Order Executed with too much severity by the Under-Officers, caused a new uproar among the People. However every one took Boat without delay, dreading worse News and Orders that might inforce them to return to their own Houses.

In three days time there departed from us above a thousand Persons. Yet this wrought a very bad effect among the Commonalty of *Switzerland*, who were not able to penetrate into the Causes moving our Commonwealth to yield this obedience at this time unto his Majesty. But there is yet something more Cruel. For the King sends us a thundering Letter, by which he approves the whole procedure of the Governour of *Gex*, in hindring all Commerce between *Gex* and *Geneva*; so that not only no Provisions can from thence be imported into the City, but also none of the Inhabitants of *Geneva* dare fetch in Herbs or Corn from their Gardens and Barns; yea, over and above, he commands them immediately to expel, out of the City, all Ministers that had been settled in it within three years last past, as a Company of Seditious Fellows, that held private Cabals in *Geneva* to embroil his Kingdom. And he requires also of them an account what they had done with his Subjects whom he had ordered them to dispatch back again to their own homes, and that if he had not a satisfaction in full to all his Commands, he would make them repent that ever they had offended him.

In a word, never had we a Letter, a Letter of this nature, in such a daring, menacing stile. Truly had it not been for our Magistrates, the People, who were exceedingly concerned at it, had quite broken out. The *Switzers* have a General Assembly this Week. And thus you have a faithful account of our present Condition.

We wait impatiently for the King's Answer to those Letters which inform'd him of our ready Obedience unto his Orders. But we fear every thing, because he having once begun to make his demands, sets no bounds to them. The *Switzers* are hastning to their Assembly, and the People seems very resolute to stand up in defence of their Liberties and Religion. Every one is ready to march at the first Signal. In the mean while the *Switzers* have been wonderful in their Charity. The Country of *Vaux* is fill'd in every Corner with French Fugitives. Within these three Weeks there have been reckon'd above 17500 Persons that have passed unto *Lausanne*. *Zurich* writ admirable Letters to *Berne* and *Geneva*, desiring them to send of those poor People to them, and that they would receive them as their own natural Brethren into their Country, into their houses, yea, and into their very Hearts.



We long to know, whether the King will not make the same demand unto the *Switzers* as unto *Geneva*. But 'tis hoped they'll not bate his Majesty an ace, but assert their own Rights and Sovereignty. Yet there being a Spirit of Bigottry crept in among the Popish *Cantons*, even in the very face of the Protestants, this troubles a World of People.

*Yours,*

N. N.

Whilst all this was acting abroad, and other mischiefs done unto the Reformed at home; The French Court sate close in Consultation about giving the last blow at the Roots of the Religion in that Kingdom, and how, and in what manner to repeal the Edict of *Nantes*. Very much time was spent in drawing up the matter and form of this new Edict. Some in the Council would have the King detain all the Ministers, and compel them, as he had done the Laity, to change their Religion, or in case of stubbornness and refusal, he should condemn them to perpetual Imprisonment.

The reasons alleged for this were, that in case he did it not, they would be so many dangerous Enemies against him in Foreign Nations, and Trumpets of his Cruelty and Tyranny; others on the contrary affirmed, that as long as the Ministers continued in *France*, their presence would incourage the People to abide in their Religion, whatsoever care might be taken to hinder them; and that supposing they should change, they would be but so many secret Adversaries nourished in the bosom of the Romish Church, and the more dangerous because of their great knowledge and skill in controversial Matters. This last Argument prevailed. And thereupon they came to a final conclusion of banishing all the Ministers, and to give them no more than fifteen days time to depart the Kingdom.

The Edict is now given unto the Attorney-General of the Parliament of *Paris*, to draw it up in such a Form as he should judge most fitting. But before the publishing thereof, two things were thought necessary to be done. The first was, to oblige the Assembly of the Clergy to present by themselves unto the King a Petition about this Matter before mentioned; in which also they told his Majesty, that they desired not at present the Repealing of the Edict of *Nantes*. The second was, to suppress universally all Books made by



those of the Reformed Religion, and that an Order should be issued out to that purpose. By the first of these the Clergy supposed they might shelter themselves from those Reproaches which would otherwise be flung upon them, for being the sole Authors of those many Miseries, Injustices, and Oppressions, which would infallibly be occasioned by the Repeal of that Edict. And by the other they designed to make the Conversions of the Hereticks more easie and feasible, and to confirm those which had been already made. For Ministers and Books being all removed, they could not possibly be instructed, nor confirmed, nor reduced back again to their old Religion.

In fine, this Edict, revoking and repealing the Edict of *Nantes*, was signed and published on Thursday, *October the 8th*, in the Year 1685. 'Tis said the High Chancellour of *France*, *Le Tellier*, expressed an extream joy when he put the Seal to it. But his joy was but as the crackling of Thorns under a Pot. It was the last act of his life. For no sooner did he return from *Fountainbleau* to his own House, but he fell sick, and died in a few days. 'Tis certain, that the Policy of this old Man, rather than any Cruelty in his Nature, induced him in his declining Years to join himself unto the Persecutors of the Reformed.

This Revocatory Edict was registered in the Parliament of *Paris*, and immediately after in all other the Parliaments of this kingdom.



II. The Mark of the Beast ; or the Profession of the Catholic Faith, which the Protestants in France were forced to subscribe, through the violence of persecution in France. From Quick's *Synodicon*, &c. Vol. I. p. 139.

IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND  
OF THE HOLY GHOST, Amen.

I do believe, and profess with a firm Faith, all and every thing and things contained in that Creed which is used by the holy Church of *Rome*, to wit:

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, who hath made Heaven and Earth, and all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of

God, and born of the Father before all Ages, God of God, Light of Light, True God of the True God, Begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made; who for us Men and our Salvation, came down from Heaven, and was Incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin *Mary*, and was made Man, and was Crucified also for us under *Pontius Pilate*, he suffered and was buried, and the third day he rose again, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and he shall come again with Glory, to judge both the quick and the dead: whose Kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, and the Son, who with the Father and the Son together is Worshipped and Glorified, who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins, and I look for the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Life of the World to come. *Amen.*

I receive and embrace most firmly the Apostolick, and Ecclesiastical Traditions, and the other Observations and Constitutions of the same Church.

In like manner I receive the holy Scripture, but with that sense which the holy Mother Church hath, and doth now understand it, to whom it doth belong to Judge of the true sense, and interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, and I shall never take it, nor interpret it, otherwise than according to the unanimous Consent of the Fathers.

I profess also, that there be truly and properly seven Sacraments of the new Law, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and needful for the Salvation of Mankind, although not alike needful to every one, to wit, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage, and that they do confer Grace. And that Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders, cannot be reiterated without Sacrilidge.

I receive and admit also the Ceremonies received and approved by the Catholick Church, in the solemn Administration of all these fore-mentioned Sacraments.

I receive and embrace all and every thing and things, which have been determined and declared concerning original Sin and Justification by the holy Council of *Trent*.

I likewise profess, that in the Mass there is offered unto

God a true, proper, and propitiatory Sacrifice for the living and the dead, and that in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly, really, and substantially, the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that in it there is made a Change of the whole substance of the Bread into his Body, and of the whole substance of the Wine into his Blood, which Change the Catholick Church calls Transubstantiation.

I confess also, that under one only of those two Elements, whole Christ and a true Sacrament is received.

I constantly affirm, that there is a Purgatory, and that the Souls there detained are relieved by the Suffrages of the Faithful.

In like manner the Saints reigning with Jesus Christ are to be Worshipped, and Invoked, and that they offer Prayers unto God for us, and that their Relicks are to be honoured.

I do most steadfastly avow, that the Images of Jesus Christ, and of the Ever-Virgin Mother of God, and also of the other Saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration must be yielded to them.

Moreover I affirm, that the power of Indulgences was left unto the Church by Jesus Christ, and that their usage is very beneficial unto Christians.

I acknowledge the Holy Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church, to be the Mother and Mistress of all other Churches.

And I promise and swear true Obedience to the Pope of *Rome*, Successor of Blessed St. *Peter*, Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

In like manner, I receive and profess, without doubting, all other things left, defined, and declared by the holy Canons, and General Councils, and especially by the most holy Council of *Trent*.

And withal, I do condemn, reject, and accurse all things which are contrary, and whatever Heresies have been condemned, rejected, and accursed by the Church.

*And swearing upon the Book of the Gospels, he must say,*

I promise, vow, and swear, most constantly to confess (God aiding me) and to keep intirely and inviolably unto the death, this self-same Catholick Faith, out of which no Person can be saved, which I do now most willingly and truly pro-





If no other security for their preserving their right order existed, than the care which might be taken in rolling and unrolling these "historical fragments," for the purpose of reading or consultation, the chance of their retaining their proper stations might seem perhaps but small. Still, whatever derangement may have been subsequently introduced, at the time of composition, at least, the several portions of the history would naturally occur in their right order. It becomes the duty of a true critic, therefore, in any case of uncertainty subsequently arising, to inquire, whether or not there be any thing in the writing or composition itself, which may enable us to fix, with certainty or probability, according to the circumstances of the case, the true position of the supposed dislocated passage. It is in the discovery and application of such a verification of the place which the passage before ought to fill, and consequent justification of the actual state of the sacred text, that Mr. Forster is, we think, eminently happy. Simon does not venture to say where he would have it stand; but his argument against its present situation implies, that it must be placed "somewhere prior to the seventeenth chapter; the latter chapter, and to verse 5 of the twenty-first inclusive, undeniably containing the occurrences of one and the same year. Now, that such a position of the chapter is impossible, Mr. Forster thus demonstrates:

"In the seventeenth chapter I pause upon a circumstance, minute indeed, yet among the most remarkable and most worthy of remark, of the biographical incidents connected with the history of the Father of the Faithful. I speak of the two-fold commandment given by Jehovah, in the course of this memorable interview between God and his chosen servant, that 'Abram' and 'Sarai' should thenceforward lay aside those names, received from man, and derived through heathen ancestors, and should receive and adopt other names, conferred on them by the voice of the Most High God, and imposed by the present ministration of Heaven. 'And Abram fell on his face; and God talked with him saying: As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations. Neither shall thy name be any more called *Abram*; but thy name shall be **ABRAHAM**: for a father of many nations have I made thee.' (Gen. xvii. 3—5.) 'And God said to **ABRAHAM**, As for *Sarai* thy wife, thou shalt not call her name *Sarai*, but **SARAH** shall her name be.' (Gen. xvii. 15.)

"The proverbial reverence of the ancient Jewish copyists for the integrity of the sacred text, (a reverence which, to this day, sets at defiance all imputation of wilful deliberate falsification of MSS. in



the execution of their task,) is matter of unquestioned notoriety. But if ever there was an occasion more imperative than another for the exercise of this reverential accuracy of transcription, it may unhesitatingly be placed in the religious preservation of the distinction between the humanly-bestowed and the divinely-appointed names of the Father and the Mother of the faithful. *The single letters* added in the one instance (אברהם אברהם), and substituted in the other (שרי שרה), by the instant commandment of Jehovah, must have acquired and retained, in the eyes of Jewish piety and patriotism, on every principle of conscience and prepossession of the heart, which characteristically distinguished the Israelite from the rest of mankind, a value and a sacredness incommunicably and unchangeably their own.

"In the controverted narrative of the present twentieth chapter of Genesis, the divinely-enlarged name ABRAHAM, and the divinely-altered name SARAH, recur, the former in eight, the latter in five, several examples. The theoretical translocation proposed for our adoption, in this instance, by P. Simon, will require that we throw back this twentieth chapter to a place in the sacred history certainly prior to the seventeenth. But the seventeenth chapter, we have seen, contains the record of that interview in which Almighty God imposed their prophetic and spiritual names on his chosen servant and handmaiden: consequently, in order to the establishment of P. Simon's hypothesis of an accidental translocation of Gen. xx., we are driven upon the monstrous assumption, that by the Jewish transcribers, within the compass of a single chapter, the integrity of the sacred text, in one of its most sacred and inviolable features, has been wilfully and deliberately invaded and violated through a series of thirteen distinct examples,—has been wilfully and deliberately invaded and violated, in five instances by literal substitutions, and in eight instances by literal additions."—pp. 24—27.

A more complete refutation of an unfounded, though plausible theory, than that contained in the above extract, will not easily be found in the annals of theological controversy, nor perhaps a more effectual warning against the "wanton attempts" of Simon and his followers, "to make order give place to confusion, fact to hypothesis, the sacred truth of history to the fallacies of a daring speculation."—p. 27.

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IV. Biographical Notice of Thomas Hearne, M. A. From Townley's *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*. Vol. I. p. 97

Thomas Hearne, M. A. the editor of this valuable edition\* of the "Acts of the Apostles," and the indefatigable collector

\* "The *Acts of the Apostles*, printed at Oxford, is a fac-simile edition of a Greek and Latin MS. of the seventh century, preserved

and editor of ancient books and manuscripts, particularly of our old *Chronicles*, was the son of George Hearne, parish clerk of White Waltham, in Berkshire, in which parish he was born, in 1678. Having but little opportunity for learning, and his father being poor, he was, at an early age, obliged to earn his subsistence as a day-labourer. Happily for him, his abilities were discovered and fostered by Francis Cherry, Esq. in whose house he had lived as a menial servant; but who, on perceiving his talents, placed him at the free school of Bray, in his native county, and afterwards educated him as his son. In 1695, he was entered of Edmund-hall, Oxford. Dr. Mill, the principal of the college, soon marked the bent of his studies, and employed him as his assistant in the laborious task of collating MSS. for his edition of the Greek Testament. Dr. Grabe also availed himself of his useful talents in transcribing and collating various old MSS. In 1699, he took his Bachelor's degree, which was soon followed by a proposal from his tutor, Dr. White Kennet, to go to Maryland, as one of Dr. Bray's missionaries; but this proposal, not according with his views, was declined, and in a short time he obtained the situation of assistant to Dr. Hudson, the librarian of the Bodleian Library. In 1703, he took his Master's degree. In 1715 he was appointed Archetypographus of the University, and Esquire-Beadle of the civil law. These offices he soon after resigned, because of his objections to take the oaths to government, being in political principles a Jacobite. From the same conscientious motive he refused several other advantageous preferments. The latter part of his life was devoted to the study of antiquities, and the editing and republishing of numerous curious antiquarian works. He died at Oxford, June 10th, 1735. His taste for those researches, which formed the business of his life, was seen at a very early period; for when he had only attained the knowledge of the alphabet, he was continually poring over the old tomb-stones in the churchyard. But nothing can more correctly characterize this plain and laborious man, than the following *Thanksgiving* found among his papers, after his decease: "O most gracious

among the Laudian MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The Editor was the famous Antiquary, Thomas Hearne, who printed only 120 copies, by which means the edition is become exceeding scarce. This was the first fac-simile edition ever printed. A copy of it is in the Collegiate Library, in Manchester." Townley. p. 96. Vol. i.—(Temp. Ed.)

and merciful Lord God, wonderful in thy providence, I return all possible thanks to thee, for the care thou hast always taken of me. I continually meet with most signal instances of this thy providence, and one act yesterday, when I unexpectedly met with *three old MSS.* for which, in a particular manner, I return my thanks, beseeching thee to continue the same protection to me, a poor helpless sinner, and that for Jesus Christ his sake."\*

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V. The difficulties of Romanism in respect of Indulgences. From Faber's *Difficulties of Romanism*. Book I. Ch. XI. p. 177. London, 1826.

INDULGENCES sprang out of the penitential discipline of the primitive church. Persons, who had lapsed into idolatry, or who had been guilty of any scandalous crime, were separated by ecclesiastical authority from the body of the faithful : nor were they readmitted, until, by a course of austere penitence, they had sufficiently evinced their sincerity and their amendment. The church, however, which, like every other well organized society, possessed and exercised the power of ejecting or receiving members, was induced, when she had well-grounded reason to believe repentance sincere, occasionally to relax the severity, or to shorten the time of this required probation. When that was done, the grace, accorded to the penitent, was naturally styled *an indulgence*.

Such, and such only, were the indulgences of the primitive church : and I know not what objection can be rationally taken to the system of her moral discipline.

But, when the unscriptural notion of *a meritorious expiatory satisfaction to God* was annexed to the ancient probationary penance required by the church, the same idea infected also the simple primitive indulgence. If self-inflicted punishment for sin, or punishment inflicted by ecclesiastical authority, could make an expiatory satisfaction to the divine justice : then the power of remitting such punishment was equivalent to the power of declaring, that the church, according to her own good pleasure and discretion, could assign to the divine justice a smaller measure of

\* Chalmer's Gen. Biog. Dictionary, XVII. pp. 275—284.

expiatory satisfaction than *that* justice would otherwise have claimed. Now this extraordinary speculation, in pursuance of which the church undertook to determine, that God not unfrequently was and ought to be satisfied with a lighter degree of expiation, than his own justice, if left to itself, would have exacted from the offender : this extraordinary speculation sprang naturally and of necessity from the new doctrine of *an expiatory satisfaction to God* engrafted upon the primitive very harmless, or rather laudable discipline of penance and indulgence.

The revolting arrogance of so strange a speculation, when plainly exhibited in its true colours, and when no longer decorated or disguised by the specious eloquence of the bishop of Aire,\* must, I think, shock every well-regulated mind.† To imagine, that the divine justice would agree to be satisfied with a smaller quantity of expiation than the amount of its original requirement, and that each priest enjoyed the privilege of adjusting the terms of this yet more singular bargain between God and his creatures, is contrary alike to Scripture and to every consistent idea which we can form of the divine attributes. Yet this theory was but the legitimate offspring of the new doctrine of satisfaction as superadded to the old penitential discipline of the church.

1. We are assured, however, by the bishop of Aire, that indulgences, viewed (be it observed) under the present precise aspect, rest upon the authority of St. Paul.

That great apostle, says he, teaches us positively, that to the church belongs the double right of prescribing and of mitigating satisfactory punishments.‡

For the establishment of this position, the bishop refers to two connected passages in the two epistles to the Corinthians : but, in neither of those passages, can I discover the slightest vestige of any punishment, which, in his lordship's sense of the word, can be denominated *satisfactory*.§

\* A much respected Prelate of the South of France, in answer to whose *Discussion Amicale sur l'Eglise Anglicane et en général sur la Réformation*, the work from which this extract is taken, was written. See Repertory p. 317. Vol. III.—(Temp. Ed.)

† Discuss. Amic. Lett. xiii.

‡ Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 227.

§ 1 Corinth. v. 1—5. 2 Corinth. ii. 6—10.



According to the ancient and godly discipline of the primitive church, the Corinthians, as St. Paul expresses himself, had delivered an incestuous member of their community *unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.\** This they did under the immediate sanction of the anxious apostle; and afterward, when they were satisfied as to the sincerity of the man's contrition, they pardoned him the disgrace which he had brought upon the church, and readmitted him to the enjoyment of his former privileges as a baptized christian. The circumstances and the ground of his readmission were communicated to St. Paul, and St. Paul in reply, informs them, that, as *they* had forgiven the offender, so likewise did *he* for their sakes in the person of Christ.†

Such was the very transaction, from which the bishop has learned, that, by the special authority of St. Paul, to the church belongs the double right of both prescribing and mitigating satisfactory punishments: punishments, that is to say, according to the bishop's avowed doctrine, which should be able to make a meritorious expiatory satisfaction, not merely to the outraged church viewed as a body corporate, but even to the divine justice itself. Yet, where is there a single syllable about any such meritorious satisfaction being made to the justice of God, from the beginning to the end of the entire narrative?

2. Bad, however, as indulgences may be when viewed under the present most unscriptural aspect, their evil admitted of a still higher degree of sublimation.

The bishop of Aire, himself a most respectable ecclesiastic, has no hesitation in pronouncing, with or without the consent of his church, that the *validity of indulgences, like the validity of absolution, entirely depends upon the disposition of the sinner.‡* This, no doubt, is making the best of the matter: but a lamentable story yet remains to be told.

His lordship treads lightly over ground, which he is too good and too sensible a man to deem hallowed. What was the crying abomination, which first roused the indignant spirit of the great and much-calumniated Luther? The pope actually drove a gainful pecuniary traffic in ec-

\* 1 Cor. v. 5. † 2 Cor. ii. 10. ‡ Discuss. Amic. vol. ii. p. 229.



clesiastical indulgences ! Instruments of this description, by which the labour of making a fancied meritorious satisfaction to God by penance or by good works was pared down to the dwarfish standard that best suited the purse of a wealthy offender, were sold in the lump, to a tribe of monastic vagabonds, by the prelate, who claimed to be upon earth the divinely-appointed vicar of Christ. These men purchased them of the pope, by as good a bargain as they could make ; and then, after the mode of travelling-peddlers, they disposed of them in retail to those who affected such articles of commerce, each indulgence, of course, bearing an adequate premium. The madness of superstition could be strained no higher : the Reformation burst forth like a torrent ; and Luther, with the Bible in his hand, has merited and obtained the eternal hatred of an incorrigible church.

3. It is worthy of observation, that the bishop is wholly silent as to the imaginary fund, whence the inexhaustible stock of papal indulgences is supplied. Whether he was himself ashamed of the doctrine of supererogation, or whether he thought it imprudent to exhibit such a phantasy before the eyes of his English correspondent, I shall not pretend to determine. From whatever motive, the bishop omits it altogether. His lordship's defect, however, is abundantly supplied by the authoritative declaration of the reigning pontiff.

*We have resolved, says pope Leo in the year 1824, by virtue of the authority given to us from heaven, fully to unlock that sacred treasure, composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues, of Christ our Lord, and of his virgin mother, and of all the saints, which the author of human salvation has entrusted to your dispensation. To you, therefore, venerable brethren, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, it belongs to explain with perspicuity the power of indulgence : what is their efficacy in the remission, not only of the canonical penance, but also of the temporal punishment due to the divine justice for past sin ; and what succour is afforded out of this heavenly treasure, from the merits of Christ and his saints, to such as have departed real penitents in God's love, yet before they had duly satisfied by fruits worthy of penance for sins of commission and omission,*

*and are now purifying in the fire of purgatory, that an entrance may be opened for them into their eternal country where nothing defiled is admitted.\**

From a stock of merits, which the pope claims to have at his disposal, indulgences are issued, which shall not only remit the canonical penance imposed by the church, but which shall also liberate the fortunate possessors from the temporal punishment due for past sin to the divine justice, and which shall open the doors of purgatory to those suffering spirits who departed without having made full satisfaction for their iniquities by fruits worthy of penance.

These then, it seems, are the avowed doctrines and practices of the Latin Church, not merely during the dark ages of barbarous credulity, but in the full light of the nineteenth century: these are the high behests of that church, which, according to the explicit declaration of its visible head to every protestant community, is the mother and mistress of all other churches, and out of which there is no salvation.†



VI. The Rise, Progress, and Vicissitudes, of the French Reformed and Protestant Churches at Rouen and Dieppe, in the Department of the Lower Seine, formerly the province of Normandy. Extracted from *The Ecclesiastical Repertory, for the use of the Reformed and Protestant Churches of the Empire of France*, by M. Rabaut, Jun p. 270. A French work published in Paris in the year 1807.‡

The Doctrine of the Protestants was preached and avowed in this province of Normandy, of which Rouen was the

\* Bull for the observance of the Jubilee, A. D. 1825.

† Bull for the observance of the Jubilee, A. D. 1825.

‡ This is an interesting statistical work, containing historical notices of the civil, political, and religious condition of the Protestants in France, before and since the Edict of 1787; the laws passed in their favour since 1787; the discipline of their churches, with the names of their pastors, &c.

From the information contained in the Preface, it appears that previously to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Reformed churches consisted of sixteen Ecclesiastical Provinces, and sixty-one conferences, each Province forming a provincial Synod. In 1637, there were in France, eight hundred and six Reformed churches, served by six hundred and forty-one pastors. According to the new organization, France proper, together with the appended Depart-

capital, from the earliest period of its introduction into France.

In 1542, the Parliament of Rouen condemned to the flames, Constantine and his associates, on account of their religion, and because they preached the errors of Luther and Calvin.

In 1544, this same Parliament condemned to be burnt alive, an apothecary named William Husson, whose only crime was that of having circulated and distributed certain devotional books.

In 1560, several Reformed Churches were organized in Normandy ; one was formed at Luneray.

In the month of August, 1561, Duperron, Minister of State, arrived at Rouen and published the Edict which prohibited the public exercise of the Protestant Religion. The church at this place was at that time in a flourishing condition, having four pastors in the city itself.

On the 25th of January, a provincial synod was held at Rouen, at which was present M. Dubuisson, Gentleman, bearer of credentials from the Queen, addressed to the ministers who composed this synod.

She expressed her satisfaction at the peace which subsisted between the Catholics and the Protestants. She promised all assistance to the latter, inquired what force they would be able to furnish for her service and for that of the State, in case of necessity. The Synod replied, that she might count upon six thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry.

The public exercises of the Reformed Religion were held at that time in the suburb of Martinville.

This state of things was not, however, of long duration. Certain women and tradesmen were accused of having demolished some images. The court despatched d'Aumale, at the head of a small force, to take possession of the city of

ments, numbers one hundred and twenty-seven consistorial churches, and nineteen oratories. These are served by about six hundred and one pastors. The consistorial churches of the Augsburg Confession are sixty-three in number, and count five hundred and twenty-one pastors. The churches comprise, sometimes, individually, a number of congregations. One is mentioned as embracing no less than eighty-four congregations, and having but four pastors. We hope to be able to furnish some further extracts from this work in our next Number.—(Temp. Ed.)

Rouen, to persecute its Protestant inhabitants, and to prohibit all exercise of their Religion.

The inhabitants resolved on self-defence, well aware that it was the Duke of Guise and his adherents, who governed France, under the name of the King and the Queen, whose confidence they abused. They armed themselves. They seized and took possession of two armed galleys then in their port. This circumstance was very serviceable to their cause, as it enabled them to harass the royal forces, and to command the banks of the Seine.

It became necessary to invest the town. The Parliament was obliged to withdraw, and retired to Louviers.

The besiegers were frequently repulsed, and obliged even to withdraw. Having succeeded, however, at length, in making a breach, by means of a mine, the city was taken on the 26th October 1563, and the Protestants given up to be plundered. Marlorat, one of the ministers at Rouen, was arrested and thrown into a dungeon. He was arraigned before the parliament of Rouen, together with those who had been accused of being ringleaders in this affair. These were the above-mentioned pastors; Dubosc de Mantreville, President of the assistant court; de Soquence, a counsellor; John de Croses, de Vallefrenieres; and John de Baleur, Blanchet le Nud, Richard Manger, Claude du Sac, captains and officers of the reformed forces, who had defended the city. These were all condemned to death. There was also an Elder, of the name of John Bigor, who shared the same fate. Shortly after, the king of Navarre, who had been wounded, died at Rouen, on the 17th of November.

The evils experienced by the city of Rouen, led the Protestants of the city of Dieppe to anticipate the same treatment. Accordingly, a goodly number resolved to go to Antwerp and into England. Many gentlemen, together with Francis de Saint-Paul, minister of the place, came to this determination.

Peter Mordant, the present minister, began to discharge the duties of his sacred office, at Rouen, Dieppe, and Luneray, in 1778. At that time, the religious assemblies were held by night. In 1782, the brethren began to celebrate their worship in the open day.

This pastor was opposed by the Intendant, the first Presi-



dent and Procurer-general of the Parliament of Rouen, Messieurs de Vergennes and de Miromesnil.

The congregation of Dieppe, which assembled in the house of Mr. James le Griel, were forbidden, by a royal commission, to assemble. The same was the case with the congregation at Luneray. The bailiffs followed the pastor closely every sabbath, expecting to surprise him in the act of conducting the religious services, and to arrest him. He eluded, however, their vigilance. Many royal commissions were issued against him, but without effect.

Finally the storm blew over. But this minister having, at Rouen, on the 17th February, 1789, pronounced the benediction upon a *mixed* marriage, ratified before the royal judge, according to the forms prescribed by the Edict of 1787, the grand chamber of the Parliament of Rouen, after hearing more than twenty witnesses against him, issued a warrant for his apprehension. On the 13th March of the same year he left his home, and found a reception at Paris in the house of Monsieur de Villedeuil, Minister of the King's household, and in that of Monsieur Barentin, Keeper of the Seals. The decree was removed the next year. The constituent assembly having afterwards recognised and proclaimed the liberty of worship, the church of Rouen and its pastor enjoyed, and still continue to enjoy, the most perfect quiet—a quiet firmly established since the beneficent law of the 18th *Germinal*,\* year 10th of the Republic.

The doctrine of the Reformers was known at Dieppe as early as the year 1557. In the month of August of this year, a book pedler who resided at Geneva, passed through Dieppe, with a small pack upon his back, containing some good books. He sold a few, and several persons were curious to hear, from himself, concerning the reformation which had taken root at Geneva, and was talked of in divers parts of France, but was as yet entirely unknown at Dieppe. The name of this pedler was John Venable. He was well informed, for one of his condition, in matters of religion; every one was desirous of hearing him. They possessed themselves of his books, and forthwith commis-

\* Comprising the last 11 days of March, and the first 19 days of April.—(Temp. Ed.)



sioned him to conduct their worship, until they could procure a pastor. After a residence of about three months at Dieppe, Venable found the little flock augment to such a degree, that he thought it his duty to advise of the circumstance Monsieur Delajouché, pastor of the reformed church recently established at Rouen, inviting him to betake himself immediately to Dieppe, "where," said he, "*the harvest truly is plenteous but the labourers are few.*" Monsieur Delajonché went and preached some sermons at Dieppe, and wrote to the pastors at Geneva, to induce them to use their endeavours to procure a pastor for the church at Dieppe. They sent thither Monsieur André de Sequeran, Proprietor of Amont, who arrived there on the first of January following. He tarried there until the month of June of the same year. He then proceeded to Geneva, with the intention of collecting together his family, and of taking them with him to Dieppe. In this, however, he was frustrated. He died at Geneva three weeks after his arrival. He was succeeded in his charge at Dieppe, by Monsieur Delaporte, one of the pastors of Rouen, who had, shortly after, for his colleague, during some time, the celebrated John Knox, a Scotchman. During their ministry some of the most distinguished personages of the country embraced the reformed religion; among others, a Monsieur de Bagueville, a descendant of Charles Martel, and two of his daughters. From the year 1558, a remarkable change was perceptible in the manners of the inhabitants of Dieppe, amongst whom, before that time, every thing scandalous was in vogue. In 1562, the great majority of the inhabitants professing the reformed religion, they established themselves, on the 16th May, in the church of St. James, the principal one of the city. Here they continued for the space of one year, at the end of which, in consequence of an Edict of pacification,\* they were obliged to relinquish it to a few Roman Catholics, who were still to be found in the city, and to erect a church, at their own expense, in one of the suburbs. This edifice, having been very slightly built, was thrown down during a storm, at the expiration of about five years. This calamity rendered it necessary to build another, in the same suburb, (that of la Barre)—a substantial and elegant edifice.

\* Signed in May 1576.—(Temp. Ed.)

which was destroyed upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

After the massacre at Vassy, which took place in 1551, Dieppe was exposed to all the horrors of the civil wars, which the Dukes of Guise stirred up in France. It was only by virtue of the Edict of Nantes,\* that this church, together with those of Luneray and of the neighbourhood, enjoyed some degree of peace and prosperity. The revocation of this Edict,† and the consequent persecutions, reduced this church to a small number of individuals. The famous Admiral Duquesne was of Dieppe, and of the reformed religion. He was not constrained to renounce his religion, but on his death, the public monument, which his services had merited, was refused; his family was unable to obtain his body to deposit it in a tomb prepared by them in a hamlet of Switzerland, with the following inscription, of which Monsieur de Rhulieres has given the meaning: "*This tomb awaits the remains of Duquesne. His name is known upon every sea. Passing stranger, if you demand why the Hollanders erected a superb monument to the vanquished Ruiter, and why the French have refused an honourable sepulture to the conqueror of Ruiter, the fear and respect due to a powerful monarch forbids me to reply.*" Since the reign of tolerance, his statue has been placed in the palace of our kings.

The Protestants of Dieppe, of Luneray, of Autretot, &c. have been reduced, for more than a century past, to the simple exercise of domestic worship. The religious congregations were not re-established in this district until 1782. Still they met in secret. They were frequently molested and suspended by the manœuvres of the enemies of the Reformed Religion. Messieurs Mordant, Paumier, and Reville, officiated as Pastors in this church for a long time. Monsieur Darnaud afterwards officiated, for a few months. Finally, they obtained Monsieur Née, the present pastor.

The Protestants of Dieppe are land-proprietors, ship-owners, and merchants, chiefly occupied, in time of peace, with every kind of maritime commerce, which is reduced to nothing since the war. They enjoy a reputation and respect, justly merited, more by their manners than their fortunes.

\* In April 1598.—(Temp. Ed)

† October 12th 1685. (Id.)

VII. Efforts made to prevent the importation and circulation of Tyndall's Translation of the New Testament. From Townley's *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*. Vol. II. p. 379.

The English bishops exerted all their influence to prevent the importation and circulation of Tyndall's translation. Severe proclamations were issued by the king, at the requisition of the clergy, against all who read it, or had it in possession. Humphry Monmouth,\* who supported Tyndall abroad, was imprisoned in the tower; and though a man of wealth, was almost reduced to ruin. Penance was enjoined to Thomas Patmore, and to the author's brother, John Tyndall, on suspicion of importing and concealing these books; and Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, adjudged, "that they should ride with their faces to the tails of their horses, having papers on their heads, and the *New Testaments*, and other books which they had dispersed, hung about their cloaks; and at the standard, at Cheapside, should themselves throw them into a fire, prepared for the purpose; and that they should afterwards be fined at the king's pleasure." The fine set upon them was £13,840. 0s. 10d. The learned chancellor was also induced, by the great patrons of popery, to employ his pen against the translator, and the translation. In the year 1530, or 1531., a royal proclamation was issued for totally suppressing this translation, which was pretended to be full of heresies and errors; and holding out the expectation that another and a more faithful translation should be prepared and published.† Dr. Stokesley, bishop of London, who in the month of May, 1531, caused all the New Testaments of Tyndall, and many other books which he had bought up, to be brought to St. Paul's church-yard, and there burnt, was one of the most cruel persecutors among the prelates of his time. Fox has entered into a long detail of those who suffered in his diocese: from him we extract the following particulars of the charges laid against several who were imprisoned, and compelled to abjure.

\* See Gleanings No. VIII. for an account of this man.—(Temp. Ed.)

† Newcome's *Historical View of the English Biblical Translations*, pp. 20—22. Dublin, 1792, 8vo.

Henry's *Hist. of Great Britain*, B. vi. ch. ii. sec. 2. p. 59.

Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, I. B. i. ch. xxi. p. 116.

"John Raimund, a Dutchman, 1528."

"For causing 1500 of Tindal's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerpe, and for bringing 500 into England."

"Thomas Curson, monke of Bastacre, in Northfolke, 1530."

"His articles were these : For going out of the monastery, and changing his weede, and letting his crowne to grow, working abroad for his living, making copes and vestiments. Also, for having the *New Testament* of Tindal's translation, and another booke containing certaine bookes of the *Old Testament*, translated into English, by certain whom the papists call Lutherans."

"John Row, book-binder, a Frenchman, 1531."

"This man, for binding, buying, and dispersing of bookes inhibited, was enjoined beside other penance, to goe to Smithfield with his bookes tied about him, and to cast them in the fire, and there to abide till they were all burnt to ashes."

"Christopher, a Dutchman, of Antwerp, 1531."

"This man, for selling certaine *New Testaments*, in *English*, to John Row aforesaid, was put in prison, at Westminster, and there died."

"W. Nelson, priest, 1531."

"His crime was, for having, and buying, of Periman, certaine bookes of Luther, Tindall, Thorpe, &c. and for reading and perusing the same contrary to the king's proclamation, for the which he was abjured. He was priest at Lith."

"Edward Hewet, servingman, 1531."

"His crime : That after the king's proclamation, he had read the *New Testament* in *English* : also the booke of John Frith against Purgatory, &c."

"Walter Kiry, servant, 1531."

"His article : That he, after the king's proclamation, had and used these bookes : the *Testament* in *English*, the Summe of Scripture, a *Primer* and *Psalter* in *English*, hidden in his bedstraw at Worcester."

"John Mel, of Bockstead, 1532."

"His heresy was this : for having and reading the *New Testament*, in *English*, the *Psalter*, in *English*, and the book called A, B, C."\*

\* Fox, II. pp. 315—322.

Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, I. p. 116.



VIII. Account of Mr. Humphrey, Monmouth the Patron of Tyndall.  
 From Fox's *Actes and Monuments*, ii. p. 257. Ed. Lond. 1641.

"Master HUMFREY MUMMUTH was a right godly and sincere alderman of London, who, in the dayes of Cardinall Wolsey, was troubled and put in the tower, for the Gospell of Christ, and for maintaining them that favoured the same."

"Stockesley, then bishop of London, ministred articles unto him to the number of foure and twentie ; as for adhering to Luther and his opinions ; for having and reading hereticall bookes and treatises ; for giving exhibition to William Tindall, Roy, and such other ; for helping them over the sea to Luther ; for ministring prime helpe to translate, as well the Testament, as other bookes into English ; for eating flesh in Lent ; for affirming faith onely to justifie ; for derogating from men's constitutions ; for not praying to saints, not allowing pilgrimage, auricular confession, the pope's pardons : briefly, for being an advancer of all Martin Luther's opinions, &c."

"Hee being of these articles examined, and cast into the tower, at last was compelled to make his sute or purgation, writing to the Cardinall, then lord chancellor, and the whole councell, out of the Tower. In the contents whereof he answered to the criminous accusation of them which charged him with certaine bookes received from beyond the sea ; also for his acquaintance with master Tindall. Whereupon he said, that he denied not, but that foure yeares then past hee had heard the said Tindall preach two or three sermons at Saint Dunstan's in the West, and afterward meeting with the said Tindall, had certaine communication with him concerning his living : who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the bishop of London his service ; for then hee laboured to be his chaplaine. But being refused of the bishop, hee came again to the said Mummuth this examine, and besoughte him to helpe him. Who the same time tooke him into his house for halfe a yeare : where the said Tindall lived (as he said) like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drinke but small single beere. He was never seen in that house to weare linnen about him, all the space of his being there. Whereupon the said Mummuth had the better liking of him, so that he



promised him *ten pound*, (as he then said,) for his father's and mother's soules, and all Christian soules ; which money, afterward, he sent him over to Hamborow, according to his promise. And yet not to him alone hee gave his exhibition, but to divers other moe likewise which were no heretikes : as, to Doctor Royston, the bishop of London's chaplaine, hee exhibited fortie or fiftie pounds ; to Doctor Wodihall, provincially of the frier Augustins, as much, or more ; to Doctor Watson, the king's chaplaine ; also to other schollers, and divers priests ; besides other charges bestowed upon religious houses, as upon the nunnerie of Denney, above fiftie pounds sterling bestowed, &c."

"And as touching his bookes, as *Enchiridion*, the *Pater Noster*, *De Libertate Christiana*, an *English Testament*, of which, some William Tindall left with him, some hee sent unto him, some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell ; these bookes hee said, did lie open in his house, the space of two yeares together, he suspecting no harme to be in them. And, moreover, the same bookes being desired of sundry persons, as of the abbesse of Denney, a frier of Greenewich, the father confessor of Sion, he let them have them, and yet he never heard frier, priest, or layman find any fault with the said books. Likewise to Doctor Watson, to Doctor Stockhouse, Master Martin, parson of Totingbecke, he committed the perusing of the bookes of *Pater Noster*, and *De Libertate Christiana*, which found no great fault in them, but only in the booke *De Libertate Christiana*, they said there were things somewhat hard, except the reader were wise."

"Thus he excusing himselfe, and moreover complaining of the losse of his credit by his imprisonment in the tower, and of the detriments of his occupying, who was wont yeerly to ship over five hundred clothes to strangers, and set many clothiers aworke in Suffolke, and in other places, of whom he bought all their clothes, which were now almost all undone ; by this reason, at length, he was set at libertie, being forced to abjure, and after was made knight by the king, and sheriffe of London."

"Of this Humfrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of Christian patience, in the sermons of Mr. Latimer, which the said Latimer heard in Cambridge, of Master George Stafford, reader of the divinitie lecture in that universitie.

Who, expounding the place of St. Paul to the Romans, that we shall overcome our enemy with well doing, and so heape hot coles upon his head, &c. brought in an example, saying, that he knew in London, a great rich merchant, (meaning this Humfrey Mummuth,) which had a very poore neighbour: yet, for all his povertie he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him come to his table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Doctor Collet was in trouble, and should have beene burnt, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture man, he began to smell the Gospel. The poore man was a papist still. It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the Gospell, sitting at his table, where he reproved popery and such kinde of things; the poore man being there present, tooke a great displeasure against the rich man, insomuch that he would come no more to his house; he would borrow no more money of him as he was wont to doe before times, yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the bishops. Now the rich man not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talke with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poore man had such a stomacke, that he would not vouchsafe to speake with him. If hee met the rich man in the streete, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that hee met him so in a narrow street, that he could not avoyd but come neere him; yet, for all this, the poore man (I say,) had such a stomacke against the rich man, that hee was minded to go forward, and not to speake with him. The rich man perceiving that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, saying, "Neighbour, what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell mee, and I will bee readie at all times to make you amends." Finally, hee spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought so in the poore man's heart, that by and by, he fell downe upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so tooke him againe to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afore."

## LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*Library of the Duke of Sussex.*—A work is now in preparation (the first two Parts of which are just published from Mr. Valpy's Press) under the superintendence of Mr. Pettigrew, Librarian of the Duke of Sussex, entitled "A Catalogue of the singularly rare and valuable collection of MSS. and Books contained in the Library of the Duke of Sussex, at Kensington Palace."

The first part of the first volume is devoted to the description of the Theological MSS. of which there are nearly 300, and chiefly of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, though some of them are as early as the tenth. Those manuscripts are in various languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, English, Irish, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Pali, Singhalese, and Burman.

The *Hebrew Manuscripts* are 44 in number, and some of them are of very great value. The Pentateuchs on African and Basil skins are considered the finest in the country. —One of them measures 144 feet in length, 23 inches in breadth, consists of 72 skins, and is arranged in 263 columns, each of which has 42 lines. The History of the Hebrew MSS. is a curious narrative respecting the Hebrew MSS. of the Bible, of the manner directed to be written, and of the rules laid down by the Jews with respect to their manuscripts, by which the integrity of the text may be preserved. The character of the Hebrew MSS. is arranged under the divisions of Spanish, Italian, and German, the former of which is designated as the most beautiful. In the collection, there are two complete Hebrew MSS. of the Bible, one of the 13th, the other of the 15th century, the latter with illuminations. There are also three Pentateuchs, various commentaries, and Rabbinical and Cabalistic works. There is a Pentateuch of the 13th century, in Hebrew and Chaldee, accompanied by illuminations of an exceedingly curious nature, and of which fine fac-similes (by G. Cruikshank) are given. All the terms peculiar to MSS. are also detailed and explained.

Among the *Greek Manuscripts*, there is one of the New Testament of the 13th century, which contains the whole of the books, with the exception of the Apocalypse. Some of

the readings peculiar to this MS. are noticed, and a fac-simile is given of the first page of the Gospel of St. Matthew, together with an illumination, ably executed by Mr. Harris in lithography. There are also various Greek MSS. of the Fathers of the Church, and among the *Homilies* of St. Chrysostom, is that which was personally directed against the Empress Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, whom he depicts as Herodias, and for which he was degraded from his episcopal dignity, and banished from Constantinople. Biographical sketches of the Fathers accompany the notice of the several MSS.

The *Latin Manuscripts* are both numerous and of great rarity. There are sixteen MSS. of the Vulgate, enriched with the most splendid illuminations. There are two MSS. of the Bible allegorised in Latin verses, some of which are in rhyme. The whole is included under the title of "Aurora," which title Mr. Pettigrew conceives is probably intended to allude to the light supposed to be thrown on the obscure passages of Scripture by the allegorical mode of interpretation. Specimens of such work are given in this Catalogue. It is attributed to Petris de Riga, a Canon of Rheims, who flourished under the Emperor Frederick I. There are various MSS. of several of the Books of the Old and New Testaments, and some very fine Psalters. Illustrative of one of the 10th century, it being remarkably curious, there are three plates of fac-similes. The Commentaries by the Fathers are of early date and numerous. There is a MS. Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, by the venerable Bede, which was made about the year 1480, for Ferdinand King of Castile. Of the MSS. of the Latin Fathers, those of St. Austin, St. Athanasius, and St. Ambrose, are the most numerous. There is a MS. of the celebrated work of Servetus, "*Christianismi Restitutio*," and a very interesting memoir of the unfortunate author.

The department of *Missals*, *Breviaries*, *Books of Offices*, &c. is very rich; and considerable service is rendered by the Author pointing out the contents of these various services of the Roman Church, which are so frequently confounded by collectors of rare and curious books.

The *French Manuscripts* are especially distinguished by a Commentary on the Bible entitled, "*La Bible Moralisee*," from the Townley collection. The illuminations in this vo-



lume are in *chiaro oscuro*. A fine folio MS. of "The Golden Legend" is remarkable, as showing the various stages of the illuminative art. In the *Italian Manuscripts*, there is a very curious History of the Old Testament, enriched with 519 paintings. It forms a kind of *Biblia Pauperum*, and belongs to the 15th century. This article is accompanied by four fac-similes of the costume of the period. The Spanish, German, and Dutch MSS. follow next.

In the *English Manuscripts* there is a paraphrase on the Book of Job, by George Sandys, who was Gentleman of the Chamber to Charles I., and pronounced by Dryden to have been the first versifier of the age. There is a curious *Irish Manuscript*, entitled "*The Three Shafts of Death*," by Dr. Geoffrey Keating, the author of a "History of Ireland."

The *Arabic Manuscripts* relate to the Koran, of which a very interesting account is given; and a splendid one, which formerly belonged to Tippoo Saib, is particularly described. There is a *Persian Manuscript* of the Gospels, and an Armenian MS. of the same, with singularly beautiful illuminations. This is of the 13th century, on vellum, and is, perhaps, the most valuable Armenian MS. in the country. They are of exceeding rarity. The MSS. in the square Pali character, obtained from Rangoon, are, if not unique, the finest in this country. They are of the most splendid description, and one of them is on *plates of ivory*. The letters are in Japan, and richly ornamented with gold. Mr. Pettigrew gives an account of the Pali language, and fully describes the MSS.—*Class. Journ.* for March, 1827. p. 156.

We have authority for stating that the edition of the Septuagint begun by the late Dr. Holmes at Oxford, and carried on since his death by the Rev. J. Parsons, B. D. will speedily be completed. Of the fifth and last volume, containing the Apocryphal Books, nearly the whole is printed off; and considerable progress made in the concluding fasciculus of the Fourth Volume; so that there is little doubt that the whole will be finished within the course of the present year.—*Ib.* p. 162.

A work is in progress entitled *Theological Institutes; or a View of the Evidences, Doctrines, Morals, and Institutions of Christianity*. By Richard Watson. First American from the second London edition. Published in N. York by N. Bangs and J. Emory, for the Methodist Episcopal Church.



"The object of this work is to exhibit the Evidences, Doctrines, Morals, and Institutions of Christianity, in a form adapted to the use of young ministers and students in Divinity. It is hoped also, that it may supply the desideratum of a *Body* of Divinity adapted to the present state of theological literature neither Calvinistic on the one hand, nor Pelagian on the other."

The first volume has made its appearance in this country. The second volume was issued from the press in London in January last. The first part of this volume is in the press in New-York. The second part is expected daily.\* It is expected that a third volume will be added, and that the author is now engaged in writing it. The work has been favourably received in England, the first volume having already gone through two editions.

The Lives of the Bishops of Winchester, from the first Bishop, down to the present time. By the Rev. Stephen Hyde Cassan, A. M.

This work has been announced for some months as in the press. It is expected to embrace an exact reprint of the scarce volume known by the name of Sale's History of Winchester.

Saurin's Sermons, now in the press of D. A. Borrenstein, Princeton, N. J., to be comprised in one vol. 8vo., complete, will be ready for delivery in the course of September next.

A new religious Magazine, on the plan of the Museum of Foreign Science and Literature, is announced by E. Littell, Philadelphia. A Prospectus will probably be issued in July.

Messrs. Howell and Stuart, London, have issued a Prospectus of a new Periodical Quarterly Publication, entitled '*Museum Theologicum, or General Collection of Theological Literature.*'

This work is to contain a Series of Critical, Dogmatical and Exegetical Treatises on Divinity; Translations of the best Essays which the Continent furnishes in these Departments; Epitomes of larger works and Original compositions. No reviews are to be admitted. The first Number will be committed to the press, when a Number of Subscribers sufficient to authorize the Publication shall be procured.

\* Our last information was three or four weeks since.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Hebrew Tales, selected and translated from the writings of the ancient Hebrew Sages: to which is prefixed, an Essay on the Uninspired Literature of the Hebrews. By Hyman Hurwitz, Author of *Vindiciæ Hebraicæ*, &c. &c. London. 1826.

A Dissertation on the Means of Regeneration. By Gardiner Spring, D. D. New-York. 1827.

Passages cited from the Old Testament, by the writers of the New Testament compared with the original Hebrew and the Septuagint version, arranged, &c. By Prof. Stuart of Andover, Mass.

The Life of John Sharpe, D. D. Lord Archbishop of York, by his Son, Thomas Sharpe, D. D. Edited by Thomas Newcome, M. A. London. 1825. 2 vols. 8vo

Critical Essays on Genesis, Ch. xx., and on St. Matthew, Ch. ii. 17, 18, with Notes. By the Rev. Charles Forster, B. D. Dublin & London. 8vo.

Sermons, chiefly designed to display the Connection between a sound Faith and a holy Life. By the Rev. Edward Patteson, M. A. London. 1826. 1 vol. 8vo.

An Account of the Indexes, both prohibitory and expurgatory of the Church of Rome. By the Rev J. Mendham, M. A. 8vo. London, 1826.

This volume contains an account of the scarce and curious works, mentioned in the title, from the year 1559 to 1806. Almost the whole of them are in the author's possession, and he is therefore enabled to give a satisfactory and accurate description of their contents and peculiarities. The rules of the Council of Trent on the subject are given in English at pages 32-41, and are followed by long descriptions of, and occasional observations on, the Belgic, Portuguese, Spanish, and Roman Indexes. The volume concludes with two quotations from a profound work of Sir Edwin Sandys, *Europæ Speculum, or a View and Survey of the State of Religion in the Western parts of the world*. 4to. Hagæ-Com. 1629. James, first librarian of the Bodleian, appears to have treated of the Indexes in his usually excellent manner; but no author since having dedicated a volume to the subject, the present may be regarded as containing a complete and satisfactory statement of the editions with their characteristics of a set of books studiously preserved (in the case of the earlier expurgatory Indexes) from the public eye.

*Class. Journ.* for March, 1827. p. 154.

Bible Hebrique en Lettres Latines, with a Grammar and a Dictionary in conformity with the new Text, by M. Dusson, Member of the Asiatic Society of France. 3 vols. in 8vo.

Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parātonium, die Libysche Wüste, Siwa, Egypten, Palastina, und Syrien, in den Jahren 1820 und 1821. Von Dr. Joh. Mart. Augustin Scholz, Professor der Theologie auf der Universität zu Bonn. 'Travels in the region between Alexandria and Parætonium, in the desert of Libya, in Siwa, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, in the years 1820 and 1821. By Dr. John Mart. Augustin Scholz, Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn.

The name of Dr Scholz has long been well known to biblical scholars, although his works have not passed beyond the German language: his Biblical Tour and the present work, on account of its connexion with theological inquiries, rank deservedly among the most important discoveries of modern times. We consider it consistent with our plan to attract the public notice to his labours, as we shall shortly have to devote our attention to a New Testament by this author, in which a new system of recensions and various readings, unknown to Griesbach and Matthæi, are brought to light by means of his unwearied researches in various countries of Europe and the East.

*Brit. Crit. Quart. Theol. Rev.* &c. for March. p. 362.

The expectations formed by the Assyrians, that a great Deliverer would appear, about the time of our Lord's Advent, demonstrated. By Mr. Nolan. Lond. 1826.

Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits, by the Rev. Samuel Miller, D, D. Princeton, 1827.

Six Sermons on the Nature, Occasions, Signs, Evils, and Remedy of Intemperance. By Dr. Beecher. Boston,

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**ON MIRACLES,**

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## REINHARD ON MIRACLES;

&c. &c.

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THE authority of the Bible as a revelation from heaven rests on the evidence of miracles. To these Christ\* and his Apostles† appealed for proof of their claims to be received as “teachers sent from God.” This is the grand argument in support of the Scriptures; and those “mighty works,” if actually performed, and really miraculous, place the divine origin of Christianity beyond the possibility of a doubt.

But on carefully examining this subject, I met with unexpected difficulties. I saw, that the argument from the miracles of Christ, if valid, furnished the most decisive evidence of his claims; but it seemed, nevertheless, to be in certain points liable to serious objections. If the works, ascribed to him in the Gospels, were truly miraculous, they afforded to my mind overwhelming proof of his divine mission; for they must have been the voice of God attesting the claims of his Son, and commending him to mankind as a messenger from heaven. But the questions—what is a miracle?—and how distinguishable from other extraordinary but natural phenomena?—seemed so obscure, and of so doubtful solution, that I found much difficulty in meeting the objections of those who ascribe all events apparently miraculous to natural

\* John ii. 11, 23; v. 17, 20, 21; vi. x. 25, 37, 38; xi. 42; xiv. 11. Luke x. 13—17. Matt. xi. 3—5, 20—24. The Apostles assert this to have been the object of his miracles: John xx. 30, 31. Acts ii. 22; x. 38. That Jesus expressly appealed to his miracles in proof of his divine mission, see a dissertation of Storr in Flatt's Magazine, Part IV. No. IV. Also Storr's Bib. Theol. B. I. § 8. III. 2.—*Translator*.

† Matt. x. 1, 8. Luke ix. 1; x. 1, 17. John xiv. 12. Acts iii. 6, 12, 16; v. 12—16; xiv. 8—11; xix. 11, 12. Rom. xv. 17—19. Mark xvi. 17—20. (Tr.)

causes, and assert that we are unable to prescribe limits to the latent powers of nature. Nor has any one, to my knowledge, entirely removed this difficulty. I am quite sure that the considerations commonly adduced will not obviate it. I found much difficulty on this point when attempting in a recent public discussion, to ascertain the exact force of the argument for Christianity drawn from the miracles of our Lord. I resolved, therefore, after having investigated the subject with some care, and arrived at results that satisfied my own mind, to lay my thoughts on this difficult point before the public.

To this I have been induced by several reasons. After all that has been written on the subject of miracles by S. R. Less,\* Farmer,† and others of great genius and erudition, I find, that the question—can we determine whether any extraordinary event proceeds immediately from the hand of God, and not from the latent powers of nature?—has not been discussed in a manner so full and satisfactory as to need no further investigation. At the present day the argument from the miracles of Christ seems among us not only to be ridiculed by infidels, but to be abandoned by the very friends and professed champions of Christianity. Recent works in this country, especially those critical journals‡ which profess to judge and proclaim the merits of new publications, maintain that the moral excellence of our religion, so conspicuous in its doctrines and precepts, is the surest and the only decisive evidence of its divine origin. The

\* In an excellent work entitled: *Wahrheit der Christlichen Religion*. 1776.

† Farmer's work on Miracles has been translated by the famous Bamberger under the title: *Abhandlung ueber die Wunderwerke*. 1777.

‡ See a variety of essays in Staeudlin's *Theologische Baeytrage*, Eckermann's *Theol. Beytr.*, Eichhorn's *Bibliotheca*, &c. &c. Storr's *Bib. Theol. B. I.* † 6—10. (Tr.)

miracles of Christ they consider as liable to so many objections, and involved in so much obscurity and doubt, that they choose to relinquish and discard them altogether.

But I can by no means consent to give up the argument from miracles. It is certain, that Christ appealed to them in support of his claims, and rested his authority principally on the works which he wrought. However often and strongly he may have insisted on the singular excellence of his instructions, he settled the great point of difficulty with the Jews, the divinity of his mission and doctrines, by appealing to his mighty works.\* The Apostles imitated his example, and by miracles also confirmed their authority.† It is obvious, then, that those who explain and vindicate the argument from miracles, defend the very citadel of Christianity. I shall endeavour, therefore, to clear this argument from some of its difficulties. Nor will the attempt be useless; for even should I fail, I may induce abler minds to give the subject a more thorough and satisfactory investigation.

I shall therefore endeavour, in the following discussion, first, *to ascertain and fix the point in dispute by examining the arguments of those who deny the possibility of our determining what events are miraculous.* I shall next *explain, at some length, the nature of miracles,* in order to remove all ambiguity of terms, and avoid being led astray by equivocal language. I shall then proceed to show, *that we are able, without a perfect knowledge of all the laws and latent energies of nature, to determine what phenomena are miraculous.* I shall conclude by evincing, *that, however ignorant we may be of the nature of miracles, they nevertheless furnish a valid and*

\* Farmer's *Dissertation on Miracles*, ch. iii. Sec. 5. I. pp. 249—262. (Tr.)

† Ib. II, pp. 262—281. Storr's *Bib. Theol. B. I. ch. 9, 10.* (Tr.)



*sufficient argument for the authority of a messenger from God.*

I. Let us then begin with settling the point in controversy. Those who call in question the argument from miracles deny the possibility of determining what a miracle is. As miracles proceed immediately from the hand of God, who thus publicly commends his ambassadors, and invests them with a portion of his own authority, it is obvious that those events, which spring from natural causes cannot be deemed miraculous. Our opponents suppose, therefore, that no man, unless he forgets in his pride the weakness of the human mind, will presume to tell what events are of divine origin, and what result from the powers of nature. Since no mind can grasp the whole amplitude of nature's dominions, or conceive the full might of her hidden energies, who can say that any observed effect is not the result of natural causes? Many things escape our notice; some laws of nature elude our keenest search; our knowledge of the physical world is daily increasing; many phenomena, now known to be natural, were once ascribed to a special interposition of the Deity; and at length we may be enabled, by the labours of learned men to ascertain with precision what the powers of nature can effect. Who then will dare affirm, that those events which we deem miraculous will be so regarded by posterity? Should we not rather expect, and even desire, that they may be in this respect as much superior to us as we are to those who have gone before us? We smile at the superstition which once looked for omens, consulted oracles and appointed a supplication to all the gods, on every idle rumour that the heavens had rained blood, an ox spoken, or a pool of water assumed, for a moment, the appearance of blood.\* We feel indignant on reading how often our ancestors were duped by crafty monks, who palmed on their

\* Livy xxiv. 10.

silly superstitious admirers a vast number of pretended miracles. Who then will say that future ages may not equally wonder at our credulity in regarding as miraculous what may have been produced by nature alone? If no man can presume to have searched into her deepest secrets, to have looked through the whole of her vast and intricate machinery, and thus learned all her laws and all her powers, can we tell what effects are not natural, but result from an immediate agency of God? If miracles, then, be employed to prove a divine commission, God himself, who alone knows all the capabilities of nature, must by a new miracle inform us what events surpass her powers, and are therefore produced immediately by himself. But on this principle one miracle would require another, that a third, and so on in an infinite series. Such a series, however, is impossible; and it follows, therefore, either that God cannot produce miracles, or that he must continue to produce them for ever. But the last supposition is manifestly absurd, and the first is a mere assumption. Thus our opponents come to the conclusion, that God never performed miracles to establish the authority of his messengers; and fearing lest on a subject so obscure they should rashly assent to what is false or uncertain, they reject the whole argument drawn from the "mighty works" of Christ and his Apostles.

This reasoning obviously divests miracles of their real character. They are the proper credentials of a messenger from heaven; and, if wrought by a divine hand, they unquestionably prove the divinity of his mission.\* If it cannot, however, be shown that they were thus wrought, they ought to have no influence on our judgment. But those who

\* Farmer on Miracles, ch. ii. iii. The object indeed, of his whole Dissertation is to prove, that miracles, being the work of God alone, are decisive proof of "the divinity of the mission and doctrine of a prophet." This position is defended with an able and triumphant hand. (Tr.)

assert, that miracles cannot prove the divine mission of a prophet, still admit that God is able to produce them. We need not, therefore, stop to discuss the possibility of miracles. This point is conceded ; and, even were it not, the subject has often been treated in a manner so full and able as to require no further discussion.\*

It is, however, doubted whether God will, or even can, on account of our weakness, produce miracles. They seem to subserve no purpose ; for it can never be clearly ascertained what effects transcend the powers of nature.

Let us examine this objection. To ascertain its full force and precise import, we must first inquire what idea those who place any confidence in miracles attach, or, if cautious reasoners, ought to attach to this term. Philosophers, by their loose and ever-changing definitions, have involved the whole discussion of this subject in ambiguity and darkness. Each defines a miracle, so as to suit his own peculiar views ; and from these gratuitous premises he draws his rash but confident conclusions. Such writers have thus mistaken almost entirely the meaning attached to the term by those who performed miracles. Overlooking the import of this term in ancient times, they presume to invent a signification, chiming well enough with their own preconceived opinions, but altogether at variance with the usage of antiquity and the Scriptures. We shall endeavour, in our remarks, to avoid this confusion by forming juster notions of the subject under discussion.

II. For this purpose let us proceed to examine and explain the true nature of a miracle. We shall first *ascertain what a miracle must be, both from the attributes of God and the constitution of nature.* We shall then in-

\* By Farmer, ib. ch. i. § ii. See also Campbell's Dissertation on Miracles, and Brown on Cause and Effect, Note E. pp. 219—233. (Tr.)

quire *whether the definition thus obtained is accordant with the usage of ancient languages.*

Such is the original constitution of nature, and such its uniform government, that all the parts of the universe are mutually dependant, closely connected, and bound together by perpetual and unchanging laws. Who is unacquainted with the regularity of the heavenly bodies, or with the equable motion and annual revolution of the planets? Who has not marked the succession of the seasons, the fertility of the earth, and the uniform laws which regulate the operation of all material bodies, and the occurrence of all the events that happen around us? Every one must have observed that the formation, growth, and decay of bodies take place in a fixed precise order, and that the whole mass of matter composing our globe is so wisely divided and arranged, that plants, trees and animals, when worn out by age, are gradually dissolved to form the germ and nutriment of a new progeny far surpassing the former in beauty, strength, and every other excellence. And do not all these changes occur according to laws from which nature never departs?\*

Nor is this precise and perpetual uniformity confined to that part of nature which consists of an endless variety of material bodies. The mental world also has its laws. The soul acts according to fixed principles. Minds are united by certain laws to matter, and enabled to perceive, to reason, to enjoy pleasure, to suffer pain. The various species of brutes are so constituted as to perceive external objects, to shun whatever is noxious, and by various expedients procure their food, and take care of their young. In all these actions they follow a uniform course which nature prescribes, and to which instinct prompts.

Similar properties man possesses. His body, like that

\* Seneca Ep. XXXVI.

of irrational animals, is indeed governed by certain instincts on which the continuance and preservation of his species depend. But the soul, that part which makes him man, and elevates him so far above all other animals, his Creator formed with peculiar care and wisdom. We are not left to float in such uncertainty, that we must, like a vessel drifted on rocks, cling to whatever opinions may chance to come in our way. In our thoughts and reflections, in our inquiries after truth, and the formation of all our opinions, we are guided by rules common to all men. The mind does not in its moral or intellectual operations act at random. It follows an established train of thought, and obeys the influence of peculiar impulses. Thus we avoid ignorance and error, approve what is right, and discover what is true ; nor do we embrace any opinion till the mind is satisfied by clear and convincing arguments.

Now this regularity, this wise and beautiful harmony which pervades the universe, God does not himself disturb, nor permit others to disturb.\* Destroy this uniformity in the laws of nature, and the admirable order and beauty of the material world would perish, the most gifted minds would be set afloat like a helmless ship, on a tempestuous sea, and all happiness as well as all certain knowledge would be swept from the universe.†

But however plainly the nice and beautiful mechanism of nature bespeaks the existence of a God who, as the maker and supreme director of all things, deserves the love and homage of mankind, it is nevertheless probable that the

\* Farmer on Miracles, ch. ii. § I.—IV. ch. iii. § V. VI [TR.]

† What confusion would result from a violation of those laws which regulate the course of nature, may be imagined from the fictions of poets, ancient and modern, who represent evil spirits as meddling with the affairs of men. To omit others, I will refer for an example of these monstrous fictions only to Shakspeare's "*Midsummer-Night's Dream*."



Father of the human race would reveal himself still more clearly to those whom he has enriched with so many and so precious tokens of his kindness. Especially does the benighted miserable condition of our guilty world call loudly for a revelation, far more full, more clear, and more certain than the light of nature, and the deductions of reason.\* But were God pleased thus to reveal what man can never learn from his works alone, there are but two ways in which this could possibly be done.

The first is *a direct revelation to every individual of the human race*. God is obviously able thus to communicate to all men such a knowledge of his will and character as they need. By reversing or superseding the common laws of mind, he might instruct mankind in a way altogether new and supernatural. But this would produce great and universal confusion. It would unhinge our minds ; it would break the mainspring of the mental world, and throw it back into a state of moral chaos. It would render uncertain every criterion of right and wrong, of truth and error. It would set aside all those rules by which we learn, and reason, and judge. It would break down every barrier of reason, and let the fancy loose to play her wildest freaks and indulge her most delirious dreams. It would, in short, destroy the freedom as well as the regularity of our minds, and compel an involuntary assent to whatever God might be supposed to dictate.

This method, then, we must reject, and resort to *that of a revelation only to a few individuals*. It would be sufficient for God to reveal himself to a part of mankind, and then employ this select number to communicate his will to the rest. This would indeed be a departure from the established course of nature ; but it would occur at intervals so

\* Leland on "*the Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation*." Halyburton's "*Natural Religion insufficient, and Revealed necessary*." Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae*. B. I. [Tr.]

distant, and in cases so rare and striking, as not to disturb the general order of nature, nor diminish the utility or certainty of her laws. But to guard against the frauds of impostors, and prevent any change of these laws among the great mass of mankind, God must establish the authority of his messengers by such signs and credentials as will be sufficient to convince others of their divine mission. Such is the constitution of our minds, that we can assent only to adequate evidence. Every man ought to demand clear satisfactory proof, and thus avoid a rash assent, and guard against the arts of crafty and wicked impostors. We should require of such a messenger from heaven something more than the bare excellency of his instructions. He must teach new doctrines, the reasons of which cannot be discovered by the light of nature. Their excellence would indeed show their utility, but it could not alone prove the divinity of their origin. Does all that is true and excellent come immediately from God? The truth, then, or the excellency alone of a doctrine, will not point us to its origin. But, on the other hand, if the doctrines taught by such a messenger lie beyond the province of reason, and appear utterly incredible, could we receive them, however useful, unless accompanied by the most convincing evidence of their coming from God? It is obvious, then, that God cannot, except by his works, reveal himself to mankind; or that he must accompany the revelation by such a departure from the laws of nature as will prove the framer of these laws to be the author of that revelation.

But such a departure from the laws of *mind* is inadmissible. By its laws of sensation and reflection we obtain all our knowledge, guide our actions, and procure our enjoyments. A departure from these laws would be not merely an exception, but such a total derangement of the essential principles of our constitution as to unhinge the mind, and confound all its operations. There must then be a *departure*

*from the laws only of the material world.* Changes here have two peculiar advantages. They are *manifest*; because they fall under the observation of our senses, and offer no violence to our minds. They are *satisfactory*; for they are well adapted to confirm the authority of those in whose favour such miracles are wrought.

Thus we perceive the true nature of a miracle. *It is a deviation from the laws of the material world for the purpose of confirming the authority of a messenger from God.* But, since this definition may not convey the full and exact meaning of the term, we will proceed to specify some circumstances which must accompany a miracle designed to prove the authority of a teacher sent from heaven.\*

The authority of such a teacher should rest on the firmest basis. Appointed to communicate the will of God on a variety of the most momentous subjects, his office is of wide extent, and vast importance. His claims should, therefore, be supported by evidence level to the lowest capacity, and adapted to convince every class of men. And, as his proper credentials are furnished by such deviations from the ordinary course of nature as are observable by the senses, these deviations must be so obvious, so striking, and so distinctly marked, that the most common, as well as the more gifted and intelligent beholders, may be able to judge of their nature. Hence as all are equally concerned to know whether they ought to believe the doctrines of him who claims to be received as a teacher invested with divine authority, the evidence of miracles must be intelligible to all, and adapted alike to men of weak, and men of strong minds, to the ignorant, and to men of science and erudition.

Miracles, then, should always be confined to sensible objects, and deviate from those laws of nature which are com-

\* Consult on the nature of miracles Storrs' Bib. Theol. B. I. ch. 8. III. 1. Farmer, ch. I. † I. [Tr.]

mon, and well known to all. Thus will every mind be excited, every eye turned towards him who performs them ; and all who will take the least pains may determine, with ease and certainty, whether they ought to receive him as a divine messenger. Nor should he shrink from public observation. He should permit and even challenge the severest scrutiny. Before all should he perform miracles so void of art, and so free from the least suspicion of fraud, that every spectator may observe them with his own eyes, and be able to judge for himself respecting their nature.

Such a messenger moreover, must not employ any means, such as medicines, sleight of hand, and other helps, which may be suspected of having an influence in producing the miracles he performs. An air of suspicion would thus be given to the whole transaction. To the ignorant and inexperienced especially would it appear suspicious ; and they would be unable to form any settled opinion, because they could not determine whether the effects they witnessed were produced by an immediate interposition of God, or by some artifice of his pretended messenger. If then he resorts to any means, he should employ those only whose nature is so well known as to make it apparent to all, that the miracle performed is not an effect of those means, but the result of a divine interposition.

Thus do we see still more clearly the nature of a miracle. *It is such a deviation from the well-known laws of the sensible world as is effected by the command of a teacher from God for the purpose of proving his divine mission and authority.*

But all these signs would be equivocal and unsatisfactory, if beings hostile to God were able at will to control the laws of the material world. We know not the power of these evil spirits, nor within what limits their baleful agency is confined ; and if they are permitted to tamper with the laws of nature, the mere magnitude of an alleged miracle



could not prove its divine origin. Nor, in this case, could the doctrines of a teacher thus recommended decide our judgment. His doctrines are supported by his miracles; and, if the latter are brought into suspicion the former must fall with them. Their nature cannot be admitted as a criterion. Especially will such a criterion be inadmissible, if he teaches what is so sublime that reason cannot reach it, or so obscure and abstruse that reason cannot fathom it. True; we should more readily believe him to be a divinely commissioned teacher whose doctrines were at once worthy of God, and adapted to the powers of man. But even that which thus bears the impress of Deity, and accords with the dictates of human reason, may still be liable to doubts. All men do not think alike; their opinions are endlessly various; and the doctrines, therefore, of a teacher cannot be considered a proper and safe criterion of his miracles.\* Those who adopt this criterion seem to argue in a circle. They first adduce a miracle to recommend a doctrine, and then plead the excellence of the doctrine to prove the reality of the miracle. If God employs miracles to confirm the authority of his messengers, he must not permit any beings contrary to his will to violate the established laws of the material world.† As he is the author, supporter and controller of these laws, every departure from them must spring from his will, and in him alone must its cause be found. A miracle, thus clearly proceeding from his hand, is amply sufficient to establish the authority of his servants.

From these remarks we may infer the true nature of a miracle, and form a clear and perfect definition. *Miracles, then, are events observable by the senses, involving a ma-*

\* If a religion, however, had already been confirmed by miracles, we should think differently. For this religion, since God is never inconsistent with himself, would be a standard by which to try the doctrines of those who pretend to work miracles.

† Farmer discusses this point very fully and ably in chh. ii—iv. (Tr.)



*nifest departure from the well known laws of nature, and produced by God for the avowed purpose of confirming in the view of men the authority of his ambassadors.*

The foregoing observations on the character of miracles as deduced from the nature of the case, are very strongly confirmed by the modes of speaking on this subject used by the ancients, and by those too who pretended to exhibit prodigies. All ancient writers, both sacred and profane, seem to consider miracles as events falling under the notice of our senses, and deviating from those laws of nature which are well known to all. The very terms, employed to designate a miracle, confirm this remark. If the means of proof were not so accessible to my readers, I might easily illustrate this point by a vast variety of quotations. A few, therefore, will suffice.

The Hebrews, to designate a miracle, used the word **אוֹת**, which signifies any sign whatever. Thus the plural **אוֹתוֹת** generally means the stars, because they are signs to husbandmen, mariners, and others.\* Greek writers use *σημα* in a similar sense. Thus Aratus speaking of the heavenly bodies:

αὐτὸς γὰρ τάχῃ σηματ' ἐν ἔθανῳ ἐσήριξεν.

But the Hebrew **אוֹת** is also employed to denote miraculous events which, if not obvious to the senses, and designed also to prove a divine interposition, could not properly be designated by this term. Hence it is very frequently used in the sacred writings to express such events as the miracles performed by Moses in Egypt,† which doubtless were departures from the established order of nature, and fell under the notice of the senses. A word of the same signification, *ayahun*, occurs also in the Koran.‡ The

\* Gen. i. 14. † Exod. iv. 8. vii. 3., &c. ‡ Ch. ii. 72. xxvi. 4. xxxix.

Greeks seem, by *σῆμα* and *σημεῖον*, to express the same metaphor. Thus Homer describing a prodigy that attracted all eyes :\*

ἐνδ' ἐφάνη μέγασσῆμα—

Plato asserts, that God never deceives men, ἔτε κατὰ φαντασίας, ἔτε κατὰ λόγους, ἔτε κατὰ σημείων πομπάς.† Every one knows that the same usage prevails in the New Testament where *σημεῖον*,‡ the word by which the Septuagint translates *תּוֹטָה*, is generally used to designate a miracle. Other Greek writers I need not mention.

Another word, employed by the Hebrews when speaking of miracles, is *מוֹפֵת*. This often occurs in connexion with *תּוֹטָה*, and is used to denote any event which deviates from the common course of nature, or has any thing to excite the admiration of men.§ The conjecture of Schultens respecting the origin of this word seems to me very plausible.|| He derives it from the verb, *afata*, to invert, to change. Hence comes the Arabic noun *estun*, prodigy, miracle. This coincides with our definition of a miracle, and confirms the views we have taken.

The same term is sometimes used respecting men whose extraordinary character excites a degree of wonder. Thus very often in the Hebrew prophets.¶ In a similar sense Cicero seems once to have employed the Greek *τέρας*.\*\* More frequently, however, the Hebrew term denoting miracles refers, like *τέρας*, to events and things of an extraordinary, wonderful character; for *τέρας*, according to the Alexandrine version, corresponds to *מוֹפֵת*. So Hesiod, speaking of the infernal regions :—††

\* Iliad Lib. II. 308. † De Rep. Lib. II. p. 607. Ed. Fic.

‡ Matt. xii. 38, 39. Mark xvi. 17, 18. Acts iv. 30. 2 Thess. ii. 9. &c.

§ Exod. vii. 3. Ps. lxxviii. 43., &c. || In his *Clavis* p. 243.

¶ Isa. viii. 18. Ezek. xii. 6. 11. xxiv. 24.

\*\* Ad Attic. Lib. viii. Ep. ix. cir. fin. †† Theogon. v. 743—4.

———ὄϊνόν τε καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι  
τέτο τεύχευς.

Thus Homer also, describing an omen:—

ἡμῖν μὲν τόδ' ἔφηνε τέχευς μέγα μητιέτα Ζεύς.

But to extend these quotations would be superfluous. The same usage prevails very extensively in the New Testament, and in other Greek authors. Of a similar import are the Latin terms *prodigia*, *monstra*, *portenta*, *miracula*, *ostenta*. These all denote sensible objects which tend to excite the admiration, the fears, or anxieties of men. But this point is so plain, and the means of pursuing the investigation are so abundant, and so accessible to every student, that I need not dwell any longer on this part of my subject.†

There is, however, another Hebrew term, מִלְאָה, used to denote such events as apparently transcend the powers of man, and seem therefore to be at variance with the established course of nature.‡ The Seventy translate this word by θαυμάσια; a rendering which agrees with the usage of Greek writers. For θαῦμα and its derivatives are used by these writers to designate whatever is very extraordinary, and seemingly beyond the power of man to perform. Thus Herodotus calls the flight of Arion θαῦμα μέγιστον. § In a similar sense are used the verbs θαυμασιεργεῖν, || θαυμαστοποιεῖν, θαυματεργεῖν.

\* Iliad. Lib. II. 324.

† Livy Lib. xxiv. 10. Of such wonders he gives many and copious accounts. So Ovid, who frequently employs the word *miraculum*: Metamorph. Lib. III, 673. vii, 294. where he speaks of *miracula monstri*; also xii. 175, &c. So other writers in numberless instances. Especially in Cicero *de Divinatione* may be seen what meaning the ancients attached to the words mentioned above.

‡ Exod. xv. 11. Ps. lxxviii. 15. Schultens on Prov. xxx. 18, 19

§ Lib. I. ch. xxiii. || Xenophon, Sympos. Cap. ii, J. vii. 2.

But the point is too plain to need further discussion. From these few and brief illustrations it must be sufficiently evident, *that the terms, employed by the ancients when speaking of miracles, all referred to such events as struck the senses, and involved a departure from the well known laws of nature.*

1. The foregoing remarks suggest some conclusions which we may well pause for a moment to consider. It is obvious, then, that modern philosophers, in defining the nature of miracles, have deviated widely from the views and usage of the ancients. With us the term has a far more extensive meaning. It is used to express any special agency of God, even that which relates to the soul, and other objects which can be seen only "by the mind's eye." But here, as in every department of philosophy, those who listen not to the voice of experience or of nature, and form their crude conclusions at random, or by caprice, are exposed to numberless errors. These philosophers, overlooking in their definition the prevailing usage of ancient writers, have rendered ambiguous the whole dispute respecting miracles, and entangled the subject with so many irrelevant questions as to weaken very much the argument for the Scriptures drawn from this source. We should therefore, adhere to the definition of a miracle which has been given on the preceding pages, nor force upon the sacred writers a meaning of which they never dreamed, a definition excogitated in the closet of modern metaphysicians.

2. We may observe, also, how groundless is the supposition, that a miracle proves the existence of two or more Gods. If a miracle is a departure from the established laws of the material sensible world, we can easily perceive the futility of their objection who pretend that they should be forced, on actually seeing a miracle, to suppose the existence of two Gods, one of whom wantonly infringes those laws which the other has instituted. But a miracle does not exhibit God at variance with himself. Not



at all. The same thing often happens in respect to other laws. When objects of paramount importance require a departure from rules comparatively unimportant, men frequently set these aside, while they preserve inviolate those principles which are of great and essential moment. Surely, then, God may permit the same thing to take place in the material world. To this part of his works miracles are always confined. The laws of mind are not deranged, but its powers are rather unfolded, and kept in regular harmonious operation. Now, since God in revealing his will to mankind must deviate either from the laws of matter, or from the laws of mind, the deviation should obviously be made where it would produce the least confusion, and the fewest evils. Matter, then, should be the sole province of miracles, because the laws of mind are too important, too essential to admit any infringement. So far, then, are miracles from proving God to be at variance with himself, that the infinite wisdom displayed in superintending the world, and preserving in perfect harmony the seemingly conflicting laws of nature, evinces that no being but the Creator and Governor of the universe is able to produce a miracle.

3. We derive from our remarks the still further inference, that we cannot, on observing a miracle, always determine whether God put forth a special interposition, or so constituted nature at first as to produce of herself this departure from her wonted course; or whether indeed other beings, far more powerful than man, may not be employed in performing miracles.\* We need not, however, attempt to settle these points. For we do not inquire how an event, supposed to be miraculous, took place. If a deviation from the laws of nature, it must be a miracle; and no miracle can occur contrary to the will of God.

\* Farmer on Miracles, ch. i § iii. pp. 26—30. Ch. ii. § i. ii. iii. iv. Ch. iii. § i. ii. Farmer seems, on this point, to differ from our author. (Ta.)



Some have supposed, that every miracle must be accompanied by some check to prevent the extension of such miraculous changes, and keep nature from being thrown back into all the disorder and confusion of primeval chaos. Such an expedient they call a *restoring miracle*. But whence the necessity of such an expedient? It seems, from what has been said, to be unnecessary. We cannot be certain that such a series of changes as might result from a miracle, is contrary to the will of God; nor do we know that such a series may not come within the scope of that constitution which he has established.

4. The foregoing observations will justify another very important conclusion. If miracles are designed to confirm the authority of messengers from God, he will not, after having established a religion by miraculous interpositions, make or permit, for any other cause whatever, subsequent deviations from the course of nature. A religion thus established needs no additional miracles; and no object but this can be of importance sufficient to induce God to disturb, by too frequent exceptions, the uniformity of those laws on which the order of the universe, and the well being of his creatures depend. Egregiously mistaken, then, are those in our day who arrogate to their prayers, or to their peculiar faith in God, a power of producing miracles.

5. It is further obvious, that any religion, well supported by historical evidence, may be confirmed by miracles. God will give no one liberty to alter at pleasure the laws of nature; because this would clothe error with a garb so very like that of truth, that men could not determine, with certainty, what proceeded from his hand. It follows, then, that any religion, whatever its internal character, must, if confirmed by miracles, be of divine origin. I would, with Cicero,\* even attribute ancient divination to God, if the

\* De Divinatione, Lib. i.

miracles, alleged in its favour, had actually been performed. But they are generally gross and palpable fabrications. The cautious Tully himself suggests, that the story of Attius Naevius cutting a flint with a razor, is a contemptible fiction; and he reminds us that philosophers ought to shut their ears against all fictions. Hence those books which we consider of divine authority inform us, that the highest glory of God is displayed in the production of miracles.\* We ought, therefore, even before examining the nature of his doctrines, to receive as a teacher from God any one who performs miracles in support of his claims. For none but God can be the real author of miracles; and he, therefore, by whose word a miracle is wrought, must be invested with a commission from God, and thus qualified to determine what ought to be believed.

6. It results finally from the principles we have laid down, that deviations from the ordinary course of nature, though proceeding from God alone, may sometimes, if the case require it, be injurious to individuals. Miracles are often intended to subdue the obstinacy of wicked men. But the benevolence which leads God to reveal his will, and give mankind a fuller and clearer knowledge of himself than reason could gather from his works, demands that the great majority of miracles should, by promoting human happiness, proclaim a God of mercy to be their author.

III. Let us now pass from the nature of miracles to inquire *whether a knowledge of all the powers and laws of the universe is requisite to judge respecting miracles, or whether we cannot, without this knowledge, determine what events are miraculous.* Our definition of a miracle, drawn from the usage of ancient writers, prepares us to meet and disarm our adversaries. For most of the difficulties attending this subject have arisen from the in-

consistent, fluctuating definitions of modern philosophers. I do not, indeed, see what answer can be given to our opponents by those who suppose miracles to be produced by a peculiar, extraordinary effort of the Deity. For no one who does not know precisely how much the powers of nature alone are able to effect, can judge respecting the agency by which a miracle is produced. But the empire of nature is so boundless, and includes so many beings, and so many worlds of which we can form not even a conception, who will arrogate to himself knowledge so deep and extensive?

Others, perceiving this difficulty, have supposed, that all effects are to be considered miraculous which surpass the powers of man. This notion of a miracle was adopted by S. R. Less,\* and others. But even this seems not to satisfy those who dispute against miracles. For it does not, in the first place, determine with certainty what the powers of man can do. Many energies both of body and mind may lie so deeply concealed as to elude and baffle all the researches of philosophy and science. But, secondly, we can imagine many things, not above the reach of human power, which nevertheless must be considered miraculous. We might refer, for an example, to Plato's story of Gyges.† When he turned the bezel of his ring towards the palm of his hand, he could, it is said, be seen by no one, though he himself saw clearly all things around him. He might, by this means, have done many things which, though not transcending human power, ought still to be deemed miraculous. For we ask, not how great is the power that produces any effect, but whether that power in producing it follows the established and well known laws of nature.‡ Elisha caused an axe to swim.§ Was there any thing in

\* Wahrheit der Christlichen Religion, pp 244—256.

† De Repub. Lib. ii. Also Cicero de Offic. Lib. iii. c. 9.

‡ Farmer ch. i, pp. 10, 11. note. § 2 Kings vi. 6.

this that surpassed the powers of man? Could not the prophet sustain an axe in water? But for an axe of itself to swim in water is contrary to the common course of nature; and this deed of Elisha is therefore to be regarded as a real miracle. Thus do we see the fallacy of those who imagine that the powers of man furnish a proper criterion of events supposed to be miraculous.

But we cannot dwell on this part of our subject. We shall not stop to examine what others have said respecting the nature of miracles, but proceed to inquire how the principles we have established may be applied to the point under discussion.

In judging of events apparently miraculous, we do not ask by what or how great power they were produced. If they are manifest exceptions to the common well known laws of nature, it is quite immaterial whether the power of God, or of nature alone produced them. All that constitutes and distinguishes a miracle lies in its being an exception to those laws. Now, such an anomaly cannot, as we have already shown, take place without the permission of God; and whatever event, therefore, manifestly deviates from the uniform well known course of nature must be deemed miraculous. But this can be said of events which, considered by themselves, do by no means surpass the powers of man. To cut a flint does not exceed his ability; but, if he cuts it with a razor, could we deny this to be miraculous? Why? Because we observe in this case a violation of a common familiar law of nature.

We see, then, how unreasonable are the clamours of those who contend, that no man, without a perfect acquaintance with all the laws of nature can safely sit in judgment on miracles. It is not necessary to ascertain by what power miracles are produced. As to the real powers of nature, indeed, we must, if honest, confess that we know absolute-

ly nothing.\* But it is sufficient for us to know the established course of her operations. This every one learns from daily experience and observation. Since a miracle, then, is a departure from this well known course of nature, all men, though unacquainted with some of her latent energies, and unable to tell by what power a particular effect may have been produced, can nevertheless judge respecting miracles. We should therefore beware, when we see an event apparently miraculous, of requiring proof, that it was not brought about by the powers of nature. Such proof may require more knowledge than falls to the lot of beings so weak and ignorant as man. To convince a candid judge, it will be sufficient to show that such an event is at variance with the established order of nature. If a man, by his mere word, covers a large tract of country with frogs, or brings upon it tempests and storms of hail, he surely performs a miracle. But is not nature, who every year sends forth from her bosom such vast numbers of them, able to produce frogs? Do not tempests often arise from natural causes? Taught by experience, does not the husbandman fear and flee from hail-storms? When a divine messenger, therefore, produces such effects, I do not inquire whether they were brought about by a special interposition of God, or by the common powers of nature. No; I ask merely whether those events took place in such a manner as to deviate from the established course of things? If they did, I deem them miracles. Nor do I fear lest posterity, more knowing than myself, will find that in all these there was nothing really miraculous. When I see a manifest deviation from those laws of nature which never obey the voice of man alone, I am fully persuaded that future generations, living under the same constitution, and

\* See Brown on Cause and Effect, or his Lectures on Mental Phil. Lectt. V—VII., for clearer and more correct views on this point. (TR.)



observing the operation of the same laws, will form respecting such an event the same opinion with myself. For an *exception* can never become a *rule*. Then would it cease to be a rule. The supposition is refuted by the very idea of a law, and by the uniform course of nature. The more carefully we observe her operations, the more clearly shall we be able to distinguish every exception to her laws. Hence we may be permitted to hope, that posterity, becoming better acquainted with physical causes, will perceive still more plainly than we do the nature of those miracles recorded in Scripture, and wonder that they should ever have been seriously called in question.

If now we are unable, as our opponents assert, to determine what events are miraculous, the only reason is, that we cannot always ascertain what accords with the established course of nature, and what her laws would in every case require. We have already proved, that a perfect knowledge of her powers is not necessary in order to judge correctly of miracles. We have also shown, that we are not to inquire by what agency they were produced, but merely whether they took place according or contrary to the uniform course of nature. If they cross her wonted path, they are miraculous; if they follow her footsteps, we should regard them as natural events. Thus the whole dispute comes to a single point, and turns on the question of our being able to discover the established course of nature. It therefore remains for us only to prove our ability to ascertain what course nature would in a given case take, and thus determine what events are departures from that course.

1. All the changes in the material world may be reduced to three classes. The first includes *those which occur daily in a uniform unchanging manner*. Such are the rising and setting of the sun every day, the regular return of the seasons, the facts that rivers never flow back to their

sources, that the dead do not rise from their graves, and an endless number of similar instances. It is impossible for us in such cases to doubt respecting the course of nature; for the concurrent unvarying testimony of all men in every age and country has taught most clearly and certainly what that course is.

2. Another class consists of *those changes which, because rarely observed, seem to be at variance with the laws of nature, but are found on closer examination to coincide with those laws.* Of this kind are what profane writers call omens, prodigies, monsters, and other strange phenomena;\* as when the heavens are said to rain blood or stones; when a house, a tree, or any other object is smitten with lightning; when a monster is brought forth, a comet appears, or an eclipse of the sun or moon occurs. Such events, though rare, and their cause often obscure, must be supposed, from the fact of their occurring occasionally, to be consistent with the laws of nature. On this point we have no doubt, because we are far better acquainted than the ancients with the causes which produce such effects. It is evident, indeed, that even the nice, exquisite harmony of nature's operations, by which, for example, an eclipse of the sun or moon takes place, often occasions such appearances as are easily mistaken by the ignorant for deviations from her ordinary course.

3. The last class I shall specify embraces a large variety of *changes which appear to deviate from the wonted path of nature merely because her powers are so skillfully managed as to effect what nature left to herself could never do.* To this class belong those nameless and numberless arts which jugglers employ to amuse or deceive the simple. By their extensive acquaintance with nature

\* Besides Livy, so often quoted above, and other ancient writers, Suetonius relates a vast number of such strange events. See his *Life of Julius Cesar*, c. 81; of *Octavius*, c. 94; of *Vespasian*, c. 5., &c. &c.

they often manage her powers so as to produce phenomena truly wonderful. Such was the knowledge possessed by the priests of ancient Egypt. To such arts were those addicted whom the Greeks called *δαιμονιοι*, *δαιμονουργοι*, whose miracles were often nothing more than a singular swiftness in running, or some other extraordinary motions of the body. Akin to these are the tricks, in our day, of itinerant quacks, rope-dancers, and other jugglers. These exploits, however seemingly at variance with the laws of nature, are found to tally exactly with them. By machines of modern invention philosophers employ the elements and laws of nature so as to produce effects which to the vulgar appear truly miraculous.

We have now specified all the changes that result from the laws of nature alone. If those events, then, which we call miraculous, and deem sufficient to establish the authority of a messenger from God, can be clearly distinguished from these changes, it must be admitted that a knowledge of all the powers and laws of the universe is not requisite to form a safe and accurate judgment respecting miracles.

As to the first class there is no room for doubt. Events, occurring in accordance with laws which are fixed, and obvious to our very senses, become from our earliest years gradually so familiar to us, that we perceive at once the least deviation, and easily distinguish it from the ordinary course of nature. There is no difference here between the learned and the unlearned; for having the same senses, and deriving from experience similar knowledge, all think essentially alike. Should a man command the sun to stop in his march through the heavens, and prolong the day, who would not perceive here a wide and striking deviation from nature's wonted course? This opinion would be just as certain as the fact, so amply attested by universal experience, that the sun sets once in twenty-four hours. Wine

is usually made from grapes. Now, should a man, claiming to be from God, give to common water the properties of the best wine, could we doubt that in this change of water into wine there was such an exception to the laws of nature as could not occur without a divine interposition? But this point is so plain that any further remarks upon it would be deemed altogether superfluous. Hence Hume appeals to the very clearness with which miracles may be distinguished from common events, and the uniform tenor of nature, to destroy their credibility.\* Miracles deviating from general experience, can never, he presumes, have the least shadow of valid proof; because the uniform concurrent experience of every age and country must outweigh and neutralize any testimony that can be brought for their support. Were it impossible to ascertain what accords, and what is at variance with the laws of nature, a philosopher so acute would surely never argue thus. This Mohammed knew full well.† Aware that even the most ignorant can easily perceive what deviates from the uniform course of nature, he prudently chose to confess, that God had not empowered him to work miracles, rather than expose himself by suspicious ones to the ridicule and contempt of the multitude.‡ Respecting those events, then, which deviate from daily experience, and the uniform perpetual laws of nature, all men are alike able to form a correct and satisfactory opinion.

\* Essay on Miracles. See his Essay, vol. II. sec. x. On the Gordian knot of this Essay there may be found some pertinent and decisive remarks in Brown's Cause and Effect, notes E. and F. pp. 219—240. (Tr.)

† Koran, ch. xxvi, et sqq. xiii, 9. xvii, 91. sqq.

‡ Mohammed was sorely harrassed on this subject by the demands of his opposers. Considering the power of working miracles as the proper badge of a prophet, they solemnly promised, if he would give this proof of his claims, to submit implicitly to his guidance. To appease their clamors, and remove their doubts, he assigns a variety of reasons for not per-

Let us now proceed to examine the second class of phenomena which seem, on account of their unfrequent occurrence, to depart from the established course of nature, but are found on closer inspection to result from the operation of her laws. Such events, though bearing the aspect of miracles, and for this reason deemed miraculous by the ancients, can nevertheless be clearly distinguished from those which are the proper credentials of an ambassador from God. Many of the events belonging to this class follow certain laws of nature which longer experience, or more thorough examination would discover. Such are eclipses of the sun and moon; the destruction of trees, houses and men by lightning; the birth of monsters in consequence of some injury received, or frightful, offensive object seen during pregnancy. In these and similar events there is nothing miraculous. This assertion the learned labour to prove; and the illiterate easily perceive, and readily admit its truth. Now, if a person for the purpose of securing to himself as a messenger from God, the confidence of men, should by his word, or his prayers, cause lightning to descend from heaven and burn up a victim, should raise a storm of hail, or hush a raging tempest, all must perceive in such events a manifest deviation from the course of nature. Those events of this class which do not occur in a regular way, can easily be distinguished from real miracles by this mark, *that the latter must, as we have*

forming miracles: 1. *God is a Sovereign*—not to be called to an account for withholding miraculous powers.—2. *Miracles are useless*—God has foreordained every man to be either a believer, or an unbeliever; and miracles can never reverse this decree.—3. *Former miracles were ineffectual*—other means must now be tried.—4. *The mercy of God*—their guilt in resisting the evidence of miracles would have been too heinous for divine goodness to respite or endure.—5. *The inevitable abuse of miracles*—infidels would have imputed them to magic, or charged them with imposture. See Sale's Koran, chh. vi. xiii. xv. xvii. xxi. xxix. (Tr.)



*shown, take place by the command, or the prayers of a man who wishes thus to convince others that he has been appointed by God to reveal his will.* But if any events, however apparently inconsistent with the well known laws of nature, occur without such a command, they are not to be regarded as miraculous even though wholly inexplicable, and objects of attention and wonder to all. Were they real miracles, the voice of God in them would be indistinct. As no interpreter would be near to explain their import, they must be vain and useless. Nor need we fear lest impostors should take advantage of such events, and borrow from them a degree of undeserved credit. The impudence of such men is generally so glaring as to betray their real character, and make it evident to all that an event which they neither foretell, nor seek by prayer, can have no reference to them. If a person, however, should predict, that he was going to cause a large river, and all the pools, lakes and springs of a vast empire not only to seem, but actually become blood, could not such a change be distinguished from a slight temporary tinge given to the water by red sand, or by the reflection of a rising or setting sun? Persons, seized with fainting, or convulsive fits, lie for a long time insensible, and are often so confidently taken for dead, that they are actually buried or delivered over to anatomists for dissection. After a few days, however, they sometimes revive, and seem, as it were, to rise from the dead. But should a man who had actually died, and his body lain in the grave so long as to become putrid, be restored to life, could we not distinguish such a case from those in which a person not really dead is revived by natural means? It follows, then, that miracles differ widely and manifestly from this class of rare events, and can easily be seen to deviate from the established course of nature.

Let us now consider those changes which arise from human art and skill. And here we need not dwell long on

the low tricks employed by jugglers to practise on the ignorant, and cheat them of their money. These tricks are often played off in things the most ludicrous and contemptible; but miracles should be worthy of God, and relate only to matters which are dignified, necessary and useful. Between these and the vile arts of jugglers every one must observe, at a glance, a clear and marked distinction. Nor is it difficult to account for those wonderful effects which are produced by men acquainted with the secret powers, the deep mysteries of nature. They may elicit sparks very like lightning; but these can easily be distinguished from the fire by which Moses terrified the Egyptians,\* and Elijah smote the soldiers sent to seize him.† The former employ instruments; and even with these are they scarcely able to strike out a few flashes of fire resembling lightning. But those prophets of God are said, by their bare word, to have raised mighty tempests. Philosophers cannot produce any wonderful effects without a large apparatus, and a long, laborious process. But a teacher from heaven who would confirm his authority by miracles must, as we have shown, perform them without any such helps, and reject every kind of instruments, and every appearance of art and management. Claiming to be a divine messenger, he ought to imitate his God, nor rudely assail nature with engines. His mere word should be his only engine; and with this alone should he effect whatever he wishes.

Let us here examine for a moment the arts, once so far famed, of necromancy, magic, and sorcery. Many in ancient times pretended to call up departed spirits, and learn from them to predict future events. This superstition is very old, and is mentioned a few times in the Bible,‡ and very often in Homer, and other ancient writers.§ Others

\* Exod. ix. 13, etsqq.      † 2 Kings i. 10.      ‡ Isa. viii. 19. lxxv. 3. 4.

§ See Chandler's remarks on the Life of David, c. xvi.

deceived the simple unwary multitude by pretending to enjoy special intercourse with the gods. The Emperor Julian was evidently brought back in this way to his former superstition by certain false philosophers.\* But real miracles can doubtless be easily and clearly distinguished from the arts of such impostors. They courted the shades of night; they resorted to deep caverns, and sequestered retreats; they employed means to awe and frighten those admitted into their presence, and actually terrified them so as to damp the ardour of curiosity, and restrain them from scrutinizing the mysteries of their craft. Thus they deprived their deluded votaries of the power of examining with care, and judging with certainty. No wonder, then, that those mysteries were suspected.

Widely different, however, are the circumstances attending real miracles. They are performed in the light of day, in the presence of spectators, and in such a manner as to give every one an opportunity of observing and judging for himself. No art; no illusion; no mighty apparatus no effort to repel the profane, or shrink from the severest scrutiny. The most skeptical are permitted to witness the whole transaction, that they may thus be forced either to believe, or to remain silent. All miracles ought, as we have shown, to be performed in things that are obvious and generally known.† Thus all obscurity is prevented, and even the most ignorant are enabled to sit in judgment on whatever is done by a messenger from God.

Our conclusion, then, is clear and overwhelming. If miracles can be so easily and so surely distinguished from

\* See ancient writers on this subject, and also the elegant observations of Cramer in his Continuation of Bossuet's Hist. P. III.

† It would be very easy to show, that the miracles recorded in Scripture were attended by all the circumstances here mentioned. Open the Gospels, and the proof of this assertion meets you on every page. (TR.)

all other changes in the material world, and are found in their most essential characteristics to differ so distinctly from them, we conclude, not merely that a perfect knowledge of the universe is unnecessary to judge of miracles, but that even the illiterate can, with proper attention, form a correct opinion respecting their nature.\*

But the last age was prolific in pretended miracles. The cures, said to have been wrought at the tomb of the Abbé Paris near the commencement of the last century, were attended with circumstances which gave them an appearance of reality, and thus greatly perplexed the whole subject of miracles. Scarcely has the rumour ceased respecting the wonders performed throughout Bavaria by Gasner; and, if actually performed, they must doubtless be considered truly miraculous. It may, therefore, be asked, what are we, according to the principles we have advanced, to think of such events?

To this question we reply, that our judgment hesitates, because no witnesses worthy of entire confidence were present to observe those pretended miracles. The cures at Paris, though supported by ample testimony, and performed in a city where we might suppose fraud could find no shelter, have nevertheless been examined with so little care that their credibility remains extremely doubtful. The case of Gasner labours under the same difficulty. Of his exploits I have read many accounts; but none of them are perfectly ingenuous, and free from partiality. The authors I have consulted give their testimony in a manner very different from that in which the writers of the New Testament re-

\* Leslie's rules for determining the credibility of miracles are few, simple, and sure. 1. The matter of fact must be such that all men may judge of it by their outward senses. 2. It must take place publicly in the face of the world. 3. Not only must public monuments be raised, but some external actions performed in memory of it. 4. Such monuments and such observances must commence from the time when the matter of fact was done. *Short Method with the Deists.* (TR.)

late the miracles of Jesus. Instigated by hatred of Gasner, or biassed by personal attachments, they all assume the character of judges. The events both of Paris and Bavaria, if tried by the criteria we have exhibited on the foregoing pages, will be found to be suspicious. We have shown, that all miracles must be wrought for the express purpose of establishing the authority of a divine ambassador. But I cannot see why God should have performed so many miracles in behalf of the Parisian saint, who, being dead, could no longer be employed as his messenger. The pretended miracles of Gasner were unworthy of a divine hand; for he taught nothing new, but blindly followed the common vulgar opinions. If we may assume, what has been so fully proved by many able writers, that Christianity is of divine origin, we must reject at once all such miracles as these. For to confirm by new miracles a religion already established in this way, would be wholly superfluous. Those performed by Christ and his Apostles have not become obsolete, and lost their influence by the lapse of time.

If the Christian religion be true, we ought also to examine the *doctrines* taught by those who claim the power of working miracles. The Bible is our standard of truth; and by this we should try their principles. The Parisian Abbot, obviously a follower of Jansenius, could not have drawn his views from the Bible. If he had, what need of miracles to confirm them? Quite the reverse; for many of his tenets seem to be in direct opposition to the Scriptures.\*

\* The reader may be curious to learn what these tenets of Jansenism were. The principal are the following, extracted from the famous book of Jansenius, entitled *Augustinus*. "1. Some of God's commands are impossible to be fulfilled by righteous men even though they endeavour with all their power to obey them, because the requisite grace is wanting. 2. In our present state of corrupt nature, man never resists inward grace. 3. In our present corrupt state, it is not requisite in order to a man's having merit or demerit, that he should have such a freedom of will as excludes



The opinions of Gasner appear, from the books he published, to have sprung from a gross misconception of certain passages in the Bible. He was, indeed, a very wild chimerical interpreter, and destitute of many qualifications that are most essential to a Biblical critic. Now, can any one believe that God, who will not directly impose ignorance, error and superstition on mankind, would perform miracles to sanction opinions so crude and extravagant ?\*

IV. One topic more remains. *Were we unable to ascertain the nature of miracles, would the argument drawn from them be sufficient to prove the authority of a divine messenger ?* This question may be answered in few words. Let us confine our attention to the Founder of Christianity. This single example, of all others the most clear and illustrious, will suffice to show that, however obscure the nature of miracles, we may safely believe the teacher who comes recommended by them. Though ut-

necessity ; that which excludes expulsion is sufficient. 4. The Semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of inward preventing grace, not only to the beginning of faith, but also to every future act of it ; but they were heretics because they asserted that this grace might be resisted. 5. The Semi-Pelagians are heretics for saying that Christ died for all men in general." *Douglas's Criterion of Miracles*, p. 120.

\* Of the cures performed at Paris a very minute and satisfactory examination may be found in *Douglas's Criterion*. The author of this admirable essay attempts "an accurate examination of the principal miracles reported to have been wrought amongst Pagans of old, and Christians of latter times;" and after showing first, that such of them as were confessedly supernatural, never happened; and, secondly, that such as did actually take place, were brought about by causes merely natural, he concludes that they were all "either the fabrications of imposture, or the dreams of credulity." All these pretended miracles are found to labour under one or more of the following defects ; 1. The accounts of them were not published till long after the time when they are said to have been performed. 2. Nor were they published in the place where they are pretended to have been wrought, but propagated at a great distance from the scene of action. 3. At the time when, and in the place where these accounts took their rise, they were suffered to pass without examination.—A briefer examination in *Campbell's Dissert. on Miracles. Part II. Sect. V. (Tr.)*

terly unable to discern their real character, we could see clearly enough, that those who perform miracles must necessarily be far more skilful, and far better acquainted with the powers of nature than other men ; because they actually produce effects for which others cannot even assign an adequate cause. Now, if such effects were produced at a time when, and in a country where their authors could have obtained neither by their own efforts nor by the assistance of others, a knowledge so profound and extensive, the conclusion is clear as the sun beams, that God must have aided them.

Apply this principle to the Founder of Christianity. He lived in an age when the physical world was very imperfectly known even among those nations that were most famous for their learning. He taught among a people who had wholly neglected the natural sciences ; and, so far from devoting himself to scientific researches, he lived till his thirtieth year in the obscurity of a provincial village. But his miracles our wisest philosophers are unable, after all the discoveries of 1800 years, to imitate, or even to find in nature a cause adequate to produce them. Can we then doubt their divine origin ? Unless empowered to substantiate his claims by his mighty works, whence did he learn the art, or obtain the power, of performing miracles ? His doctrines, too, possess a matchless, a divine excellence ; and those who still call his claims in question, betray a mind not only wanting in candour and good sense, but hostile to mankind whose highest interests Christianity is so wisely adapted to promote.





**ILLUSTRATIONS**

OF

**THE ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES**

OF THE

**Structure of Language.**



FROM THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE,  
AND ARTS.—NEW SERIES, No. 1.







## ILLUSTRATIONS,\*

&c. &c.

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THE following remarks refer, primarily, to the Elementary Principles of the Structure of the Hebrew Language ; but, as this is the most simple of tongues, as it is the primitive stock from which other languages have sprung, it is evident that all investigations respecting the first principles of the structure of language must be founded upon an analysis of the composition of that original fountain whence language in general is derived. And it will be found, that the elementary principles which regulate the structure of the Hebrew language, form the basis also of other languages, and furnish us with the key to etymology in general.

Vocabularies and dictionaries of the Hebrew language present a list of about two thousand primitive words which are called *rqots*, from which the other words in the language are constructed. Each of these *primitives* or *roots*, is composed of *two* or *three* letters only, or, in other words, is either a *biliteral*, or a *triliteral* ; and each of these is usually regarded as an arbitrary word, arbitrarily constructed, and endowed with an arbitrary import. But it appears, even on the first view of the subject, highly improbable, that so many *biliterals* and *triliterals* should be mere arbitrary combinations of letters ; such simplicity of

\* This Paper contains the outline of a communication which was read before the Members of the Royal Institution, on Friday evening, the second of March, 1827.

structure seems to argue the existence of some connexion between the structure of each *root*, and its applied import—a connexion between the assigned import of each word, and the symbolical or ideal import of the letters which compose it. Such was the impression which I received, when I first turned my attention to the Hebrew language; and, under the conviction that such was the fact, I endeavoured to analyze the composition of each root, and to find out the powers of the letters, so as to reduce each root to its primary elements. In conducting this analysis, I have depended solely on the results of repeated comparisons of each root with other roots, and I have succeeded in resolving the *tri*-literals (or roots of three letters) into *bi*-literals, (or roots of two letters), and in resolving the biliterals into single letters. In other words, it has been found that each triliteral is a derivative of a biliteral; and that each biliteral may be traced to a single letter, of which it is to be regarded as a derivative, and upon the symbolical or ideal import of which its ideal, and, consequently, its assigned import is dependent. By this process, all these roots may be resolved into a few simple elements, may be reduced to the expression of a few general or leading *ideas*, the extensions, or ramifications, of which form the whole imagery of this simple and original language.

We proceed, then, to the consideration of the powers of the letters.

Letters, or characters traced on a surface, are to be regarded as *signs*, either of *things*, or of *sounds*. As signs of *things*, they are to be considered as exhibiting some *representation* of the *thing* which they are intended to denote, and as addressing themselves to the *eye*. But, as every letter has a certain *sound* assigned to it, by which it is expressed by the organs of speech, it becomes the *sign* also of that *sound*, and, as such, it addresses itself to the

ear. So that the *sign* of a *thing* is the *sign* of a *sound* also, and it addresses itself both to the *ear* and to the *eye*.

Now it is evident that letters, or characters, regarded as the *signs* of *things*, might be as numerous as the *things* which are to be *represented*. The *sounds*, however, by which they can, severally, be expressed by the *organs* of *speech* are few and simple, and as these *organs* consist of the *lips*, the *teeth*, the *tongue*, the *palate*, and the *faucis*, or *guttur*, the vocal sounds, as formed and modified by these organs, have been distinguished as *labial*, *dental*, *lingual*, *palatine*, and *guttural*. So that these *five classes* of *sound* embrace all the vocal sounds by which any letters can be expressed.

The Hebrew alphabet contains twenty-two letters, each of which has a certain *sound* assigned to it; but, as there are but *five classes* of *vocal sounds*, it follows that different letters must be expressed by sounds belonging to the same class of sounds; the twenty-two *sounds* of which the twenty-two *letters* are the *signs*, must be arranged under the *five classes* of sounds which have been enumerated. If, then, each letter were the *sign* of a *distinct thing*, it is evident, that two letters, which represent two distinct and dissimilar *things*, might be expressed by sounds of the *same class*. So that although, if regarded as *signs* of *things*, there might not be the slightest similarity or connexion between them, yet, as *signs* of *sounds*, they might bear so close an affinity to each other, as to be liable to be substituted for each other by those who regarded them only as *signs* of *sound*.

If each letter of the Hebrew alphabet were the *sign*, or *representation* of a *distinct thing*, the whole alphabet would present the signs of twenty-two *things* only. Such a limited number of signs of things being utterly insufficient for the purposes of language, it was necessary to connect, with the *thing represented*, some general, or leading

*idea*, which bore some *resemblance to*, or had some *analog* *with*, the *thing represented*. So that a letter which was the *sign* of a *thing*, was made also the sign or symbol of some *general idea* which was associated with that *thing*.

The letter כ, for instance, which is called Caph (כף), or *bow*, *represented*, as both its name and its present form denote, a *bent bow* :



This may be called its *representative* character.

With the representation of a *bent*, or *strung bow*, was naturally connected the idea of *curvature*, and, consequently, this letter (the *bow-letter*) was adopted as the symbol of *curvature*, or *incurvation*. This may be called its *ideal* character.

With a *bent* or *strung bow*, was also associated the idea of *restriction*, the instrument being *strained* or *rigidly forced* into, and retained in the *bent*, or *curved* form, by the string.\* Hence the bow-letter כ was adopted as the symbol of *restriction* also.

But the *bow* was the instrument of *smiting*, *wounding*, *piercing*, or *infixing* with arrows ;† hence it was adopted also as the symbol of *smiting*, *wounding*, or *infixing* generally.

Thus the representation of a *bent bow* became the sign or symbol of *three general leading ideas*, namely—of *in-*

\* Thus the noun כֶּשֶׁת, which also is used to denote a *bow*, signifies *rigid*, or *contracted*, from כָּשָׁה, the derivative of כָּשָׁה, which is formed from כ. [See Table II. 2. 3. a.]

† So כָּשָׁה, in Chaldee, is a verb, signifying, *to smite with a dart*

*curvation*, of *restriction*, and of *wounding*, *infixing*, or *smiting*.

The bow-letter  $\bow$ , then, had a *representative* character, and it had also a three-fold *ideal* character. But it was expressed by a certain *sound*, of which it also became the sign, (a sound answering to that of the Greek K and Latin C), and that *sound* is referrible to the *palatine* class of sounds. The sound by which any letter is expressed may be termed its *phonic* character, and every letter which is the sign or symbol of an *idea*, or, in other words, which is endowed with an *ideal character*, may be called a *significant*.

The several *characters* of the significant  $\bow$  may, then, be expressed thus :—

|                                   |   |             |                     |
|-----------------------------------|---|-------------|---------------------|
| <i>Representative</i> character : |   | a bent bow. |                     |
| <i>Ideal</i> -       -            | { | I.          | <i>Incurvation.</i> |
|                                   |   | II.         | <i>Restriction.</i> |
|                                   |   | III.        | <i>Smiting.</i>     |
| <i>Phonic</i> -       -           | - | -           | <i>Palatine.</i>    |

Being thus made the symbol of three general comprehensive ideas, the *bow-letter* (which, when inverted, becomes the Roman C) was made capable of very extensive application, and it will be found that every word in the Hebrew language which is expressive of *incurvation*, of *restriction*, and of *smiting* or *cutting*, may be traced to this significant.



The following table shows the various extensions or ramifications of the three general ideas, of which the bow-letter is the symbol ; it is constructed from a general and particular review of the various applications of the numerous words which may be traced up to this significant.

|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                |                                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|--------------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Extensions or ramifications of the three ideal characters of the bow-letter. | I.   | Incurvation. | 1.                    | Incircling.    | a. Inclosing. { Incasing.<br>Collecting together. See II. 2. c. |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | b. Including.                                                   |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | c. Covering.                                                    |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | d. Embracing.                                                   |
|                                                                              | II.  | Restriction. | e. Going round about. | Binding round. | f. Binding round.                                               |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | g. Forming a circle.                                            |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | h. Cutting round.                                               |
|                                                                              |      |              | 2.                    | Binding round. | a. Arched.                                                      |
|                                                                              | III. | Smiting.     |                       |                | b. Cored.                                                       |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | c. Curved.                                                      |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | d. Bent.                                                        |
|                                                                              |      |              | 1.                    | Restraining.   | a. Checking.                                                    |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | b. Prohibiting.                                                 |
|                                                                              |      |              | 2.                    | Contracting.   | a. Gathering together. See I. 1. a.                             |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | b. Coagulating.                                                 |
|                                                                              |      |              | 3.                    | Constraining.  | a. Rigidity. Firmness.                                          |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | b. Binding.                                                     |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | c. Holding.                                                     |
|                                                                              |      |              | 4.                    | Fixing.        | a. Affixing.                                                    |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | b. Appointing.                                                  |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | c. Settling.                                                    |
|                                                                              |      |              | 1.                    | Cutting.       | a. Cutting off.                                                 |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | b. Cleaving.                                                    |
|                                                                              |      |              | 2.                    |                | c. Striking in a sharp instrument.                              |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                | Staking.                                                        |
|                                                                              |      |              | Hitting.              |                | Biting.                                                         |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                |                                                                 |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                |                                                                 |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                |                                                                 |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                |                                                                 |
|                                                                              |      |              |                       |                |                                                                 |

We now come to the consideration of the biliterals which are constructed from this significant.

It is evident that, if this significant stood alone, it might be the symbol of either, or of all the *ideas* which are associated with it. In order to make it available for the purpose of expressing each ideal character distinctly, it was

necessary to couple it with different signs or letters. Nor was it necessary that such adjunct signs or letters should exert any symbolical character; for if, for example, we possessed three letters which were not endowed with any ideal character, we might affix or prefix one of these to our significant, when we wished to employ it with a reference to its *first* ideal character; we might use another of these in conjunction with the same significant when we intended to use it with a reference to its *second* ideal character; and the third might be connected with that significant when it was used with a reference to its *third* ideal character. We might thus construct three biliterals from this significant, in each of which a different ideal character might be exerted, the limitation of each biliteral to the expression of one particular idea (to the exclusion of the two other ideas) being altogether arbitrary, although, when once made, it would ever after remain fixed by the authority of usage. Auxiliary letters, such as we have just supposed, for the sake of illustration, to exist, actually do exist in the Hebrew alphabet; letters which, although they exert no symbolical character, are nevertheless instrumental in enabling the same significant to exert, under different combinations, its several ideal characters, or the several modifications of which its single ideal character is susceptible, separately and distinctly. Such letters are termed *formatives*.

Some of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet act always the part of *formatives*; others always act the part of *significants*; and there are some letters which, under certain circumstances, are merely *formative*, while, under other circumstances, they act the part of *significants*.

Let us revert to the significant **ב**, or the *bow*-letter.

If we affix to this significant the letter **ל**, (which here acts the part of a formative) we construct the biliteral **בל**, or **CL**, which is expressive of *in-CLosing*, *in-CLuding*,

keeping *C*Lose, or *restraining*. Thus, in this biliteral, the bow-letter exerts its ideal characters I and II. [See Table I. 1. a—e. II. 1. 2.]

Hence we have the Greek ΚΛεω, to *shut* or *C*Lose, (in Latin *C*Laudo, in Welch *K*Loi;) ΧωΛος, and ΚυΑλος, *C*Laudus; ΚωΛω, to *restrain*; ΚοΑλη, *G*Lue; ΚαΛυξ, a *Ca*Lyx, cup, or thing in which something is *kept*, or *in*C*L*uded; ΚαΛως, a *cable*; ΚοιΑος, *cavus*; and the Latin *Cau*La, *Ce*Lla, *Cæ*Lum, *Cu*Leus, *Ce*Lo, *Co*Lo, *Cu*Lo, &c. And as the biliteral 𐤊 is also indicative of *bending round*, (Table I. 2,) it gives origin to the Greek ΚΛω, whence the Latin *in*-C*L*ino, and the English *in*-C*L*ine.

If we affix to the bow-letter the letter 𐤄, (which here acts the part of a formative) we construct the biliteral 𐤊𐤄 (CS) which is expressive of *in*-C*L*osing, *in*-C*L*uding, *in*-C*a*Sing, *covering*, or *contracting together*. [See Table I. 1. a. b. II. 2.] Thus, in this biliteral, the significant 𐤊 exerts its ideal characters I. and II.

Hence we have the Greek Καζω, *orno*; ΚοΣμος, *ordo*; Κιστη, *Ci*Sta, *Che*St; Κισσος, *ivy*; the Latin *Ca*Ssis, something which *in*-C*a*ses, or *in*-C*L*oses, a *net*, *trap*, *helmet*, or *cap*; *Ca*Sa, a *Hou*Se; the English *Ca*Se, *Ca*Sh, &c.

If we affix to the bow-letter the letter 𐤆, (which here is merely constructive, it acting the part of a formative) we construct the biliteral 𐤊𐤆 (CP or CPh), which is expressive of *incurvation*, (and the various applications and modifications of that idea; see Table I. 1. 2.) Thus in this biliteral, the significant 𐤊 exerts its ideal character I.

Hence we have the Greek Κυφος, *curvus*; Καμπω, to *bend*; ΚηΠος, an *inclosed garden*; the Latin *Ca*Pio, to *Kee*P, *hold*, *compass*, or *retain* [See Table I. 1, II. 3. c.], *Ha*Beo also having the same assigned and ideal import; *Co*Pia, a quantity *collected together*. [See Table I. 1. a. II. 2. 3.] *Cupio*, to *in*-C*L*ine towards, (*mentally*,) or to

*grasp at, cherish, or embrace (mentally)*, *HoPe* having the latter ideal import, as *ChuSe* the derivative of כִּשׁ also has; *Cavus*; and the English *CaP*, *CaPe*, *CooP*, *CoPc*, *CoVe*, *CaVe*, and a long list of other words.

With the letter ר affixed, (which here exerts little or no ideal import, it being constructive only, or formative,) the bow-letter forms the biliteral כר (CR) which denotes: *CiRcularity*, or *in-CuRvation*. So that in this biliteral the significant כ exerts its ideal character, I.

Hence we have the Greek ΧοΡος, ΓυΡος, and ΚιΡχος; as also ΧεΡ, which in Hebrew is כף; the Latin *CiRca*, and *CiRcum*, and the English *CiRcle* and *CuRve*.

This biliteral (כר) also denotes, *cutting round*, or *amputating*; (so the Greek ΠεΡι, signifies *CiRcum*, and ΠιΡω, to *Cut*; and *CuRve* as well as *CuRve* is derived from כר). [See Table I. 1. h.] Hence we have the Greek ΚεΡω, *abscindo*.

With the formative letter ת affixed, the bow-letter forms the biliteral כת (CT), which is expressive of *smiting*, *CuTting*, or *HiTting*. So that in this biliteral, the significant כ exerts its ideal character III. [See Table.]

Hence we have the obsolete Greek form ΚοΤτεω, (and, from a figurative application of the idea, ΚοΤεω;) the Latin *CæDo* and *CuDo*, and the English *CuT* and *HiT*.

With the formative letter ש prefixed, the bow-letter forms the biliteral שך (SC), which is expressive both of *restricting* (II.), and of *infixing*, or *piercing* with a *sharp* or *cutting instrument*, (III. 1, a, b, c.); so that in this biliteral, the significant כ exerts its ideal characters II. and III. [See Table.]

Hence we have (as used in the former of these imports) the English *CheCk*; and (as used in the latter of these imports) the Latin *SeCo*.

These are the principal biliteral derivatives of the bow-



letter. There are some others which may be briefly enumerated.

With the aspirate ה affixed, (which is here merely formative) the bow-letter forms the biliteral כה, which is expressive of *rigidity, firmness*, [II. 3. a. see Table.] So that, in this biliteral, the significant כ exerts its ideal character II.

With the formative נ affixed, the bow-letter forms the biliteral כן (CN), which is expressive of *fixing, establishing, making firm*, [II. 4. see Table.] So that, in this biliteral, the significant כ exerts its ideal character II.

With the formative ה, the bow-letter forms the biliteral כה (CE), which is expressive of *restriction*. (It is also a particle of *restriction*, as כ is also when it occurs alone as a prefix to a word, or when it is followed by the formative י as כי (CI). So that, as a *prefix*, or when followed by the soft aspirate or vowel ה, or by the vowel י, the significant כ exerts its ideal character II.

With the formative א affixed, the bow-letter forms the biliteral כא (CA), which is expressive of *smiting*. So that, in this biliteral, the significant כ exerts its ideal character III.

With the formative ו affixed, the bow-letter forms the biliteral כו (CU or CV), which is used, in a figurative sense, to denote the *pungent* action, or effect of heat. And with the formative מ affixed, as כמ (CM), the bow-letter is similarly applied. So the English *Ho T* and *Hea T* have the same primary import, and the same common origin as *Hi T* and *Cu T*, they being endowed with the import of כת (CT), the derivative of כ, from which significant is also formed the Greek *Καιω, uro*. So that in the biliterals כו and כמ, the significant כ exerts its ideal character III.

We have thus taken a hasty view of the mode in which biliterals are constructed from the significant under consi-



deration. In some of these, the significant exerts one only of its ideal characters ; in others, two of these.

Thus it exerts its ideal characters I. and II. in the biliterals כל, כש, כף, כר ; its ideal character II. in the biliterals כה, כי, כן, (כן also, in some instances, conveys the ideal character I.) ; it exerts its ideal characters II. and III. in the biliteral שך ; while in the biliterals כו, כא, כם, and כת, it exerts its ideal character, III.

These, then, are the *Primary* biliteral derivatives of the significant כ ; we now come to the consideration of the *secondary* biliteral derivatives of the same significant.

We have seen that the bow-letter כ is not only the symbol or sign of *ideas*, but that it is also the sign of a *sound*, which sound belongs, as has been already stated, to the *palatine* class of sounds. [See the *phonic* character of כ.) Now there is a most important rule, which is extensively prevalent in the Hebrew language (as we at present find it) and in other languages, which may be thus stated : *letters of the same organ of speech* (i. e. letters whose *phonic* characters belong to the *same class* of vocal sounds) *are mutable with, or liable to be substituted, or exchanged for, each other.* Hence it happens, that a *letter*, or the *letters*, of a *primary biliteral* is, or are, exchanged for some other letter, or letters, of similar *phonic* character : and, in this way, *secondary biliterals* are formed, which are endowed with the import or imports of the *primary biliterals* from which they are respectively derived. We will illustrate this mode of constructing *secondary biliterals*.

We have seen that the biliteral כת is formed, by affixing the formative ת (T), to the significant כ (C), and that, in this biliteral, this significant exerts its ideal character III.; the biliteral כת, denoting CuT'ting or Hi'Tting. This, then, is an example of a *primary biliteral*. But, examining this biliteral with a reference to the *phonic* characters

of its component letters, we find that it consists of a palatine (כ) followed by a dental (ת.) If, then, taking this primary biliteral, we substitute for its first, or *palatine* letter, some other *palatine* letter ; or, if we substitute for its final, or *dental* letter, some other *dental* letter; we may still construct a biliteral, which is endowed with all the import of כת, although the first letter, or the last letter of this latter biliteral have been exchanged for another letter, or although both its letters have been exchanged for two other letters, the first of such substituted letters being a *palatine*, the second a *dental*.

The other palatines are ק, whose *phonic character* closely resembles that of כ, it being similar to that of the Latin K or Q; ג answering to the Latin G; and the harsh aspirate ח, answering to the Greek X, or the Latin Ch.

Thus from the *primary* biliteral כת, we form (by substituting the palatine ג or ח, for the first *palatine* letter כ,) the *secondary* biliterals גת (GT) and חת (HT or ChT), which are endowed with the import of כת. So, by substituting for the final or *dental* letter of כת some other dental letter, and by also exchanging the first, or palatine letter, for some other palatine, we also procure, from this primary biliteral, the secondary biliterals קת (KT, KTh, QT, or QTh), קץ (KZ, or KTs), חץ (HZ or ChTs), חז (HZ or ChDs), גז (GZ or GDs), חד (ChD or HD), all of which are endowed with the import of the primary biliteral כת (CT).

In like manner, if we take the *primary* biliteral כש (CS), and if we substitute for its final letter ש, the cognate (or *similarly-sounded*) letter ס (S or Sh), we construct the *secondary* biliteral כס, which has the same import. So if, taking the same primary biliteral, we substitute for its first, or palatine letter כ, some other palatine, as ק or ג, we still get a biliteral endowed with the same import ; thus קש, and גש, possess the import of כש. So by ex-

changing the first letter of this primary biliteral for the palatine aspirate ח, and the final letter for its cognate ס, we construct the biliteral חס, which is endowed with the full import of כש. From the *primary* biliteral כש, then, are formed the secondary biliterals כס, קש, גש, and חס.

So from the *primary biliteral* כפ (CP), we construct (by substitution of some other palatine for the palatine כ) the *secondary* biliterals קפ, חפ, גפ; and (by substitution also of the labial פ for its cognate ב) the secondary biliterals קב, חב, גב; each of these *secondary biliterals* being dependent for its import upon the primary biliteral כפ.

Secondary biliterals are formed from other primary biliteral derivatives of כ in a similar manner, but the enumeration of these would extend this paper to too great a length.

Triliterals are formed from *primary* and *secondary* biliterals in three ways. First, by *affixing* to the biliteral some formative letter, (thus כלא and כלה and כלם are formed from כל; קצב, קטב, and חצב, from קט, קץ, קש; or, by repeating the final letter (as כלל from כל; כפפ from כפ.) Secondly, by *inserting* a formative letter (as כהל from כל, כהז from כז, כנש from כש.) Thirdly, by *prefixing* a formative (as יכל, נכל, שכל, from כל). Such are the simple modes in which triliterals are constructed from biliterals.

The observations which have been made respecting the construction of *secondary* biliterals from *primary* biliterals, by substitution of a letter or letters of similar phonic character, apply also to triliterals. Thus a triliteral which has been constructed from any biliteral (whether primary or secondary) may have one or more of its letters exchanged for some other letter or letters of similar phonic character; and, in this way (as we observed when treating of the

construction of secondary biliterals) is formed a secondary trilateral, or a second series of trilaterals, and each such secondary trilateral is endowed with the import of its parent. Thus from the trilateral קשר is formed (by exchanging its first, or its second letter, or both these, for a letter or letters of similar phonic character) a long string of secondary trilaterals, all and each of which derive their import as well as their origin from that parent trilateral, which is the derivative of קש, a *secondary biliteral*, (whose import is communicated to its derivative קשר), which derives its origin and its import from the *primary biliteral* כש, which is formed from the significant כ, whose ideal characters I. and II. are exerted in it.

These, then, are the modes in which trilaterals are constructed.

In these several ways, then, the bow-letter כ communicates one or more of its ideal characters to biliterals and trilaterals; and, in a similar manner, other significant impart their import to their derivative biliterals and trilaterals. The bow-letter is, however, the most important of all the significant, inasmuch as we may trace up to it a greater number of what are called *roots*, than can be traced to any other significant. The phonic character of this significant (כ) is, as we have stated, *palatine*, (it having the *sound* of the Latin C or K, and it being, hence, mutable with the *palatines* ק, ג, and ח, which answer to Q or K, G, harsh H or Ch.) But the harsh sound of כ seems to have been sometimes exchanged for a softer sound, approaching to that of a *sibilant*.

So the letter C (which is formed by inverting the bow-letter) is both a *palatine* and a *sibilant*, ("aut *cornix* aut *serpens*," in English as well as in Latin (a *palatine* in *cup*, a *sibilant* in *city*), and in the older Greek alphabet, the sibilant S was denoted by the character C.

For we find, not only that there is a set of *secondary*



biliterals formed from the *primary* biliteral derivatives of כ, by exchanging the significant כ for some other palatine (as when קה, גה, חה, are formed from כה), but that there is also, in some instances, a *second series of secondary biliterals*, which is also formed from a primary biliteral derivative of this bow-letter, but which is constructed by the substitution of a *sibilant* or *dental* letter for the bow-letter. Such we find to be the case with regard to the primary biliterals כה (CP), and כר (CR).

Thus, from כה, we not only get the biliterals קה, גה, חה, but also the biliterals סה, טה, דה, צה, (תה, טה), each of these being primarily dependent for its import on the primary biliteral כה, to which the significant כ imparts its ideal characters I. and II.

So כר (CR), not only communicates its import to its derivative חר (and, in several instances, to קר and to גר), but it imparts it also to the biliterals סר, טר, דר, צר, and, in many instances, to זר, שר, and תר.

Thus a *second set of secondary biliterals* is derived from the significant כ, and from each of these (as from the other biliterals, both primary or secondary) are formed various trilaterals, which are constructed in the manner already pointed out, namely, by adding a formative letter, either as an *affix*, or as an *epenthetic*, or as a *prefix*.

In these several ways, then, are trilaterals, (both *primary* and *secondary*) constructed from biliterals, which biliterals are either *primary* or *secondary* (there being, as we have seen, both a *first* and a *second class* of secondary biliterals in some instances); and thus, from about eight or nine *primary biliterals*, which owe all their import to one single significant (the *bow-letter* כ), may be derived and constructed above five hundred of those words which are set down in the dictionaries and vocabularies of the Hebrew



language as arbitrary *roots*. So that from this apparently simple symbol, from the extension of the three general ideas—*incurvation*, *restriction*, *smiting* or *infixing*, is constructed more than a fourth part of the whole language.

In a similar manner, as we have before observed, do other significant communicate their imports to the biliterals and trilaterals which are derived from them. But the great length to which this paper has already been extended, obliges us to reserve, for some other communication, all remarks respecting them. I may briefly observe, that the same simplicity of structure which has been traced out in the formation of biliteral and trilateral derivatives of the bow letter, is also seen in the construction of those biliterals and trilaterals which derive their origin and their import from other significant. And I may remark, that the analysis, of which the preceding pages afford a cursory specimen, is not offered to the notice of the public as an example of ingenuity, or of fanciful speculation, but as something which, I think, approaches very nearly to truth and correctness. Those who can form an estimate of the labour and difficulty which attend a general and particular analysis of the whole of a primitive language, and especially an analysis, in the conduct of which no assistance has been derived from any other source than that of repeated comparisons of each word with other words, will not too severely scan those inaccuracies which further emendation may correct.

[A specimen of the analysis (comprising the derivatives of the four palatine significants, כ, ק, ג, ח,) is, in manuscript, in the hands of the Editor of this Journal, and it may be examined by any one who feels interested on the subject of language in general, or of the Hebrew language in particular. With regard to the latter language, I may state, that the analysis to which this paper refers, exhibits the whole of this language under a simple arrange-

ment, which will enable any one to acquire a thorough knowledge of it in a very short time with little or no labour, and will furnish an easy guide through the labyrinths of etymology in general. There is nothing in it which can tend, in the slightest degree, to obscure or mysticise the contents of the sacred volume ; on the contrary, it simplifies greatly the study of the Scriptures in that original language in which they ought to be studied, while it tends to confirm most strongly the faith of the believer, and to illustrate the divine origin of our holy religion.]



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THE  
**DIFFICULTIES OF ROMANISM**

IN REGARD TO THE

**Claim of Infallibility.**

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*FROM FABER'S DIFFICULTIES OF ROMANISM.—Book I. Chapter II,*

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THE

**DIFFICULTIES OF ROMANISM,**

§c. §c.

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IF the infallibility of the Latin church could be clearly established, no person could rationally object to her theological decisions : for it were palpable madness in a fallible being to contend against acknowledged infallibility.

Hence I have ever thought, that *the establishment of infallibility* is the very nucleus of the Roman controversy ; and hence I have always been specially desirous to hear the arguments which could be adduced in its favour.

Having never yet met with any thing satisfactory on the subject, I felt gratified at perceiving it discussed by such a man as the eminently learned Bishop of Aire ; and I entered, with no ordinary interest, upon the perusal of his vindication.\*

I. The prerogative of infallibility, or (what amounts to the same thing) the prerogative of entire freedom from all doctrinal error, is, I believe, unanimously claimed by the Latins on behalf of their own particular church. For they claim the privilege on behalf of the church catholic ; and they *exclusively* identify the church catholic with the Latin or Roman Church of the great western Patriarchate.

\* Discuss. Amic. Lett. iii. [See Repertory, Vol. III. p. 317.] Temp. Ed.

That the privilege, then, of infallibility resides in the catholic church, is strenuously maintained: but as to the precise quarter where it is to be found, there is not the same unanimity. Let it be sought, however, where it may, I greatly fear that its discovery will prove to be a hopeless impossibility.

1. The Jesuits and those high Romanists who bear the appellation of *Transalpines*, unless my information be wholly incorrect, contend for *the personal infallibility of the pope, when on any point of faith he undertakes to issue a solemn decision*.\*

If this theory be adopted, I perceive not how we can reconcile the authoritative declaration of Gregory the Great, respecting an article of no small doctrinal importance, with the completely opposite declarations of the popes, his successors.

*Whoever claims the universal episcopate*, said Gregory about the latter end of the sixth century, *is the forerunner of Antichrist*.†

Such is the decision of Gregory: yet this identical universal episcopate, as we all know, has been subsequently claimed by numerous pontiffs who have sat in what they deem the chair of St. Peter.‡

Hence it plainly follows, that, if the decision of Gregory be received as an infallible truth, his successors in the pontificate are the forerunners of Antichrist; while on the other hand, if his successors in the pontificate be *not* the

\* Butler's Book of the Rom. Cath. Church. p. 121-124.

† Ego fidenter dico, quod quisquis se Universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua, Antichristum præcurrit.—Gregor. Magn. Epist. lib. vi. epist. 30.

‡ Quod solus Romanus Pontifex jure dicatur Universalis.—Gregor. sept. dictat. Epist. lib. ii. epist. 55. Labb. Concil. Sacrosanct. vol. x. p. 110.

forerunners of Antichrist, the decision of Gregory must be viewed as erroneous.

2. A protestant, however, may well spare himself the trouble of formally confuting the theory, by which the pope is decorated with the attribute of personal infallibility : for the low Romanists, who are distinguished by the name of *Cisalpines*, not only deny this infallibility of the pope, but even hold that he may be deposed by the church or by a general council for heresy or schism.\* Under such circumstances, if the prerogative of infallibility belong to the church, we must seek its residence elsewhere than in the person of the pope.

In what favoured region, then, shall we find this exalted privilege ? The moderate Romanists, who claim infallibility for the catholic church collectively, suppose it to be lodged, as a sacred deposite, with *each general council viewed as the legitimate organ and representative of the catholic church*.

This hypothesis, in the abstract, is not devoid of plausibility ; but, if we resort to facts, it will turn out to be not more tenable than the last. From faithful history we learn, that general councils, upon points both of doctrine and of practice, have decided in plain and avowed opposition to each other.

The Council of Constantinople, for instance, convoked in the year 754, unanimously decreed the removal of images and the abolition of image-worship ; but the second Council of Nice, convoked in the year 787, decreed the re-establishment of image-worship, and anathematized all those who had concurred in its abolition.

I have simply stated a mere historical fact ; but the result from it is abundantly manifest. Two discordant councils cannot *both* be in the right ; and, if a single council

\* Butler's Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, p. 121-124.

be pronounced by the counter-decision of another council to have erred, the phantom of infallibility forthwith vanishes.\*

\* The variations of the Church, relative to the single point of image-worship, are so extraordinary, that they well deserve the attention of those who contend for her infallibility.

I. The ancient Council of Elvira, which sat during the reign of Constantine, and therefore, in the early part of the fourth century, *strictly enjoined*, that neither paintings nor images, representing the person whom we adore, should be introduced into churches.

For this striking and undoubted *fact* the Bishop of Aire would account, on the principle, that the Elviran Fathers dreaded lest the new converts from paganism should unfortunately mistake christian image-worship for pagan idolatry. *Diss. Amie. vol. ii. p. 350.* Let his solution avail, as far as it may avail: the *fact* he fully acknowledges.

II. In the early ages, then, of Christianity, not only was the worship of images and pictures *unknown*, but their very introduction into churches was expressly *disallowed*.

Matters, however, did not long continue in this state. Images and pictures, *in direct opposition* to the Council of Elvira, having at length been unadvisedly admitted on the plea that they were a sort of books for the unlearned, the idolatrous worship of them soon followed. About the end of the sixth century, a transaction of this nature took place at Marseilles: and, in consequence of it, Serenus the bishop wisely removed and destroyed the images. Hereupon, Pope Gregory the Great praised him for the stand which he had made against idolatry; but, under the fond pretext of their utility to the unlearned, blamed him for destroying the images. Wretchedly injudicious as was the latter part of this decision, Gregory, at least, speaks *fully and expressly* against *ANY* adoration either of pictures or of images. *Omne manufactum adorari NON LICET:—Adorari imagines, omnibus modis, VETA.*—Gregor. Magn. Epist. lib. vi. epist. 13. aliter 9.

III. Thus stood the question at the close of the sixth century; but, as might easily have been anticipated from the idolatry of the Massilians, the introduction of images soon led to their adoration. This gross abuse was strenuously opposed by the Emperor Leo the Isaurian; but, as it still continued to increase, his son Constantine as-

3. To rid themselves of this difficulty, the theologians of the Latin church contend, that the decisions of no council are to be deemed infallibly true, unless they shall have

sembled a council at Constantinople in the year 754, which formally *condemned* and *forbade* it.

IV. The Council of Constantinople, though it *agreed* in its condemnation of image-worship both with the decision of Pope Gregory the Great and with the yet more ancient decision of the Council of Elvira, was yet, on that very account, *disowned* as a legitimate council by the innovating successors of Gregory; and the cause of idolatry rapidly acquired such a degree of strength, that the second Council of Nice, which sat in the year 787, *reversed* the decree of the Council of Constantinople, pronounced it to be an illegitimate council, and *ordained* the adoration of images in language which strikingly contrasts with the express prohibition of Pope Gregory. *I confess, and agree, and receive, and salute, and ADORE, the unpolluted image of our Lord Jesus Christ our true God, and the holy image of the holy mother of God, who bore him without the conception of seed.*—Concil. Nicen. secund. act. i. Labb. Concil. Sacrosanct. vol. vii. p. 60.

V. Having thus wholly departed from her former self, the Church, speaking through the mouth of a general council, had now *decreed* the orthodoxy and legality of image-worship: but this decree was not long suffered to remain undisputed either in the West or in the East.

1. In the year 794, Charlemagne assembled at Frankfort a council of three hundred bishops, who *reversed* the decision of the second Nicene Council, and who with one voice *condemned* the worship of images.

2. Such was the solemn judgment of the West; and that of the East speedily followed it. For, in the year 814, the Emperor Leo, imitating the conduct of Charlemagne, assembled another council at Constantinople, which, like that of Frankfort, *rescinded* and *abolished* the decrees of the second Nicene Council relative to the worship of images.

VI. Thus, as both the East and the West had concurred in *establishing* image-worship, through the medium of the second Council of Nice; so did both the West and the East concur in *condemning* image-worship, through the medium of the Councils of Frankfort and Constantinople.



received the approbation of the holy see. Now, the Council of Constantinople *did not* receive the approbation of

But we have not yet reached the end of this strange eventful history of multiplied variations: we must prepare ourselves for yet additional changes of opinion on the part of a professedly *unchangeable* and *infallible* church.

In the year 842, the Empress Theodora, during the minority of her son, convened yet another council at Constantinople: and this assembly, differing entirely from its immediate predecessor, *reinstated* the decrees of the second Nicene Council, and thus *re-established* image-worship.

VII. Meanwhile, the Church of the Western Patriarchate continued to maintain, that the second Nicene Council had *erred* in its decision: for, in the year 824, Louis the Meek assembled a Council at Paris, which *confirmed* the decrees of the Council of Frankfort, and which strictly *prohibited* the payment of any, even the smallest religious worship to images.

VIII. The church, however, of the Eastern patriarchate, subsequent to the year 842, persevered in declaring, that the decision of the second Nicene Council was an *orthodox* decision, and that images *ought* to be devoutly worshipped by all good Christians. To *establish* this point, therefore, an additional council was held at Constantinople in the year 879; and the Fathers of that Synod *decreed* the undoubted obligation of image-worship, and *confirmed* and *renewed* the decrees of the second Council of Nice. Their decision gave such entire satisfaction to the Greeks, that they ascribed it to the peculiar interposition of heaven, and commemorated it by a yearly festival, which they appropriately called *the Feast of Orthodoxy*.

IX. Nor did the Latins long withhold their assent. The decisions of the Councils of Frankfort and Paris have been consigned to the *owls* and the *bats*; and the second Council of Nice, which *enjoins* the adoration of images, is now universally acknowledged to have set forth the true faith and practice of the gospel.

X. Such have been the multiplied variations of the church, in regard to the single point of image-worship; and yet, says the learned Bishop of Meaux, *The church, which professes to declare and to teach nothing save what she has received, NEVER VARIES; but heresy, on the contrary, which began by innovation, perpetually innovates, and never changes its nature.*—Hist. des Variat. pref. A. v.

the holy see, while the second Council of Nice *did* receive it. Therefore, the Council of Constantinople being a spurious council, and as such being justly denied by its Nicene successor to be the seventh œcumenical council, its discrepancy with the second Council of Nice, which was undoubtedly a legitimate council, affords no satisfactory proof that the catholic church is fallible.\*

The soundness of this argument plainly depends upon *the legitimate existence of the alleged prerogative of the pope*. Before its soundness, therefore, can be admitted, the Latin theologians must demonstrate that, *by unquestionable divine right, while the approbation of any other see is wholly superfluous, the approbation of the see of Rome is necessary to constitute the validity of a general council*. Until this position can be established, it is mere trifling to deny the legitimacy of a discordant council, simply because it has not received the sanction of an Italian prelate. Let it be proved, that the bishop of Rome possesses by divine right the power of a *veto*; and the argument now before us will be perfectly conclusive. But, unless this vital point shall be previously established, the argument which is confessedly built upon it, must, without doubt, be altogether insecure and inconclusive.†‡

I have no need, however, to press the matter; the fallibility of the church may be independently demonstrated,

\* In using this argument, the Latin theologians are clearly justified by the decision of Pope Gregory the Seventh, if indeed his authority be sufficient to decide the question. *Quod nulla Synodus absque præcepto ejus (scil. Papæ) debet generalis vocari.* Gregor. sept. dict. Epist. lib. ii. epist. 55. Labb. Concil. Sacros. vol. x. p. 110.

† In order to establish the pope's divine right to a *veto*, it will be necessary to establish his divine right to *an universal controlling supremacy*. But that this cannot be done, is fully demonstrated below.—See book ii. chap. 3.

from the fact, that *the church of one age has contradicted the church of another age.*

In the year 1215, the fourth Council of Lateran decreed the truth of that doctrine of a *physical* change in the eucharistic bread and wine, which was then first distinguished by the technical name of *transubstantiation*.\* Now this council received the full approbation of the holy see, at that time occupied by Pope Innocent the Third. Through it, therefore, as through her strictly canonical organ, the catholic church, according to the theory of the Latins, must be viewed as having spoken with the voice of undoubted infallibility.

Such being the case, since the catholic church of the thirteenth century has pronounced the doctrine of a *physical* change in the consecrated elements to be a true doctrine, if the catholic church be *really* infallible, she must invariably have taught and maintained that identical doctrine *from the very beginning.*

But we have positive historical evidence, that, during at least the five first centuries, the catholic church, so far from *teaching* the doctrine of a *physical* change, positively and explicitly, and even controversially, *denied* the occurrence of any *physical* change in the elements by virtue of the prayer of consecration.

Therefore, since the catholic church during one period has *denied* the doctrine of a *physical* change, while during another period she has *enforced* and *inculcated* it; the catholic church, having successively maintained *two directly opposite dogmas*, is thence incontrovertibly demonstrated to be not infallible.

That the catholic church of the early ages *denied* the doctrine of a *physical* change, and that she acknowledged no change in the consecrated elements, save a *moral* change

\* Concil. Later. iv. can. 1. Labb. Concil. vol. xi. par. 1. p. 143.

only ; a change, for instance, avowedly declared to be similar to that which takes place in a man, when, by virtue of the prayer of consecration, he ceases to be a laic and becomes a priest ; that such was the decision of the church of the early ages, may be easily shown, by direct evidence, beyond the possibility of contradiction.\* The fact is invincibly established by the united testimony of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoret of Cyrus, Pope Gelasius, Facundus, Ephrem of Antioch, and others who might easily be enumerated.† For not only is any *physical* change in the elements expressly denied, while the occurrence of nothing save a *moral* change is allowed ; but some of these writers, among whom pope Gelasius in the West, and Theodoret and Ephrem in the East, may be specially mentioned, even ARGUE copiously and professedly AGAINST the identical doctrine, which, in a subsequent age, the church, speaking through the fourth Council of Lateran, pronounced to be an undoubted scriptural verity. Nor can it be said, that these authors spoke only in their *individual* capacities, and that the catholic church must not be made answerable for *their* errors. Such a solution of the difficulty is, in every point of view, inadmissible. In the first

\* See below, book i. chap. 4—8.

† Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 6. p. 104, 105. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 156, 153. Tertul. adv. Marcion. lib. i. c. 9. p. 155. lib. iii. c. 12, 13. p. 209. Tertul. de Anim. p. 653. Cyprian. Epist. Cœcil. lxiii. p. 153, 154. August. cont. Adamant. c. xii. oper. vol. vi. p. 69. Enarr. in Psalm. iii. xcviii. oper. vol. viii. p. 7, 397. Athanas. in illud evan. Quicumque dixerit verbum contra filium hominis. Oper. vol. i. p. 771, 772. Gregor. Nyssen. de Baptism. oper. vol. iii. p. 369. Theodor. Dial. i. ii. oper. vol. iv. p. 17, 18, 84, 85. Gelas. de duab. Christ. natur. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. iv. p. 422. Facund. Defens. Concil. Chalced. lib. ix. c. 5. oper. p. 144. Ephrem. Antioch. cont. Eutych. apud Phot. Cod. 229.

place, the early church never condemned the doctrine which they taught and maintained ; but this she assuredly would have done, had she herself received and held the directly opposite doctrine from the very beginning. In the second place, nothing can be more evident, from the whole turn of their language, than that they are not hazarding any novel speculations of their own, but that they are propounding the well known and familiar doctrine of the period during which they flourished. In the third place, this matter is put out of all doubt, both by the high rank of certain of the writers, and by the avowed character controversially assumed and sustained by others of them. When pope Gelasius undertook to write against the then nascent doctrine of a *physical* change, we may be morally sure that his pen set forth the universally-received sense of the entire catholic church ; and, when his contemporary, Theodoret, in the East harmoniously opposed the same doctrine of a *physical* change, under the specific title of *the orthodox defender of the genuine faith*, we may again be morally certain, that he could never have made his *Orthodoxus* argue against transubstantiation, while transubstantiation is defended by the heretic *Eranistes*, had he not well known that the catholic church would readily acknowledge *Orthodoxus* as her accredited champion.

Thus it is manifest, that at two different periods the catholic church has taught two *opposite* and *irreconcilable* doctrines. Whence it follows, that the catholic church cannot be infallible.\*

\* I need scarcely observe, that every innovation, which contradicts the doctrine and practice of the early church, furnishes an additional proof, that the church, under whatever aspect it be viewed, is mutable and fallible. In the sequel we shall find so many of these contradictory innovations fully developed, that the Roman church, which in the nomenclature of the Latins is always identified with the



4. The alleged infallibility of the church, however, is not only disproved by her own internal variations; it is yet additionally disproved by the fact, that *councils, received as œcumenical, and thence deemed incapable of error, have actually promulgated decrees, which stand directly opposed to the unequivocal declarations of Holy Scripture.*

(1.) We are repeatedly assured by the voice of inspiration, that an oath is most imperiously binding upon the conscience, that those who love false oaths are hated by the Lord, that whatever goes forth from a person's lips under the obligation of an oath must be kept and performed, and that an oath must be religiously observed, even though the observation of it may be disadvantageous to the interest of the juror.\*

Yet, in defiance of language thus clear and explicit, the third Council of Lateran, which is acknowledged as the eleventh œcumenical council, has ventured to decree, that all oaths which are adverse to the utility of the church must in no wise be performed; but, on the contrary, with whatever solemnity and apparent good faith they may have been taken, they must be unscrupulously violated, inasmuch as they are to be deemed perjuries rather than oaths.†

Thus, while God, who has been invoked as a witness, and while Holy Scripture, which solemnly declares the inviolable sacredness of an oath, even though it be to a

catholic church, instead of *never* varying from primitive antiquity, may be chiefly characterized by its singular *love* of innovation.

\* Numb. xxx. 2. Levit. xix. 12. Deut. xxiii. 23. Zechar. viii. 17. Psalm xv. 4. Rev. xxi. 2.

† Non enim dicenda sunt juramenta, sed potius perjuria, quæ contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam et sanctorum patrum veniunt instituta. —Concil. Lateran. tert. can. xxi. Labb. Concil. Labb. Concil. Sacrosanct. vol. x. p. 1517.

person's own damage, are alike disregarded when placed in competition with the power and aggrandisement of ambitious ecclesiastics : the obligation or non-obligation of an oath is made, by the third Council of Lateran, to depend solely upon its utility or non-utility to the interests of the church, as those interests shall be understood and explained by the governors of the church for the time being.\*

\* The exemplification of this extraordinary principle, in the case of John Huss, is well known.

Huss had received a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismond. But the oath of that prince was adjudged, by the existing governors of the church, to be *contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam*. Whence, as being no oath, but rather an act of perjury, he was bound in duty to break it.

Respecting the present transaction, much has been warmly said and written; but, *if the infallibility of the church be admitted*, I see not how we can justly blame either Sigismond or the Council of Constance.

By the third Council of Lateran, *the obligation of destroying heretics* had been imposed upon the faithful; and, by the same œcumenical Council, the doctrine, that *all oaths, which are against ecclesiastical utility, become ipso facto, null and void*, had been fully established.—*Concil. Lateran. tert. can. xxvii. xvi. Labb. Concil. Sacros. vol. x. p. 1522, 1517.*

Such being the case, no person who holds the infallibility of the church, can consistently censure either Sigismond or the Council of Constance. For, had they acted otherwise in the matter of Huss, they would, by impugning the decisions of the third Council of Lateran, have virtually denied the infallibility of the church.

I repeat it, therefore, that all who maintain the infallibility of the church, stand pledged to vindicate the conduct of Sigismond and the Council of Constance.

In truth, *they themselves* stand pledged to act in the same manner, should they ever be placed in the same circumstances; nor is it possible for them to deny this obligation without *also* denying the infallibility of the church. Let the Romanist tie himself by ever so solemn an oath, still, if the governors of his church pronounce that oath to be *contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam*, he is religiously bound by the six-

(2.) So again, we are distinctly taught by an inspired apostle, that *marriage is honourable in ALL*, whether the married individuals be clerks or laics ; and, in strict accordance with this decision, the marriage of the clergy, whatever may be their special order, is expressly mentioned by the same apostle with full and entire approbation.\*

Yet the second Council of Lateran, which is acknowledged as the tenth œcumenical council, strictly prohibits the marriage of ecclesiastics, down to the rank of the subdiaconate inclusive ; and, by way of making the prohibition more effectual, it forbids the laity to hear mass performed by any priest who shall have dared to violate this enactment.†

In excuse for such a determined opposition to God's own word, it is commonly said by the modern Romanists, that the enforced celibacy of the priesthood is only a point of discipline, that it stands upon the same footing as the observance of any mere rite or ceremony, and that it may be enjoined or remitted at the good pleasure of the church.‡

So may the Romanists apologise for the infatuated rashness of the council ; but such an apology, even to say nothing of its glaring insufficiency, upon *their own* showing,

teenth canon of the third Council of Lateran forthwith to violate it. Should he, like an honest man, indignantly disclaim any such obligation, he then most assuredly contradicts the decision of the eleventh œcumenical council, and thus by a necessary consequence denies the church to be infallible.

The third Council of Lateran, in short, has reduced every Romanist to the following most unsatisfactory dilemma :—

He must either maintain that no oath, pronounced to be *against ecclesiastical utility*, is binding ; or he must at once deny the infallibility of the church.

\* Heb. xiii. 4. 1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, 8, 11, 12.

† Concil. Lateran. secund. can. vi. vii. Labb. Coneil. Sacrosanct. vol. x. p. 1003, 1004.

‡ Diseuss. Amie. vol. ii. p. 403, note.

is *itself* founded upon a gross misstatement. The second Council of Lateran prohibits the marriage of ecclesiastics, not on the simple ground of *mutable and temporary expediency*, but on the lofty ground of *immutable, and eternal, and inherent unholiness*. Ecclesiastics are forbidden to marry, not *because such prohibition, under certain circumstances of the church, may be convenient as a point of discipline*; but *because, as the council assures us, it is AN UNWORTHY DEED, that those persons who ought to be the holy vessels of the Lord, should debase themselves so far as to become the vile slaves of CHAMBERING and UNCLEANNES.*\*

Thus speaks and thus argues the second Council of Lateran with respect to the marriage of ecclesiastics. The case, therefore, between Scripture and the council, stands in manner following:—

Scripture both *allows and recommends* the marriage of the clergy; but the council *disallows and prohibits* it.

Scripture declares, that *marriage is HONOURABLE in ALL men, whether they be clerks or laics*; but the council pronounces, that *the marriage of the clergy is AN UNWORTHY DEED, being in truth no better than a state of base thralldom to CHAMBERING and UNCLEANNES.*†

\* Cum enim ipsi templum Dei, vasa Domini, sacrarium Spiritus Sancti, debeant et esse et dici: INDIGNUM est eos CUBILIBUS et IMMUNDITIIS deservire.—Concil. Lateran. secund. can. vi. Labb. Concil. Sacrosanct. vol. x. p. 1003.

† Pope Gregory the Seventh had already caused the marriage of the clergy to be prohibited in the thirteenth canon of the first Roman Council, which was convened in the year 1074.—See Labb. Concil. Sacrosanct. vol. x. p. 326-328.

The effect produced by this inhibition is too remarkable to be pre-terminated in silence.

When it was published by the papal legates in Germany, the clergy, so far from peaceably submitting, APPEALED TO SCRIPTURE, and

Hence it is evident, that in each of these two cases, the decisions of œcumenical councils have directly contradicted the decisions of Scripture ; and hence also it is evident, that, by the indisputable fact of this direct contradictoriness, we are irresistibly driven to the following very unpleasant alternative.

If the church, speaking through an œcumenical council, be infallible, then the decisions of the Holy Scripture are erroneous ; and, conversely, if the decisions of Holy Scripture be essential truth, then the church, speaking through an œcumenical council, is undoubtedly fallible.

From this alternative there is no possibility of evasion. Holy Scripture says one thing, and the second and third Councils of Lateran say another thing ; therefore Holy Scripture cannot stand with the second and third Councils of Lateran.

II. I have rested my entire argument upon *naked facts*; and these *facts* are, that *the church both in her doctrine and in her practice has directly contradicted herself*, and likewise that *the church both in her doctrine and in her practice has directly contradicted the inspired decisions of Holy Scripture*. Such being the case, it is utterly impossible that the church should be infallible. The fond notion of her perfect freedom from all error is

CHARGED GREGORY AND HIS COUNCIL WITH CONTRADICTING ST. PAUL.

The same opposition, on the same ground, was made also at Milan ; and the only individual who there yielded obedience was Luitprand.

How the charge of CONTRADICTION TO ST. PAUL can be removed, I do not distinctly perceive.—See Lamb. Schasnaburg. Hist. German. A. D. 1074. p. 201. Sigebert. Gembloc. Chron. A. D. 1074. Matt. Paris in Gulielm. I. Aventin. Annal. Boiord. lib. v. p. 564. cited in Stillingfleet's Discourse on the Church of Rome, chap. v. p. 369.



confuted by the invincible evidence of *naked facts* ; and, against *naked facts*, no mere abstract reasoning, however plausible and ingenious, can be allowed to stand good.

Here, then, I might fairly close the present discussion : yet, as I would not appear deficient in respect to the exemplary prelate of Aire, I shall notice, though I deem it a work of supererogation, the *arguments* which he has advanced.

I. The bishop contends, that, from the very reason of the thing, Christ *must* have left us some infallible mode of determining the truth, and thereby of preserving and maintaining ecclesiastical unity. Whence he concludes, that Christ actually *has* left us this requisite infallible mode of determination.

In matters which respect the Deity, I am not very fond of the adventurous *à priori* reasoning adopted by the bishop. It is dangerous to argue that God *has* done what we conceive he *must* have done. Had I discovered the actual existence of a living infallible umpire in points of faith and practice, I should have felt assured that such a dispensation of the truth was most wise and most fitting ; but I should hesitate to maintain with the bishop, that this dispensation must needs *actually* exist, because to myself it abstractedly *appeared* most fitting and most wise.

This latter method of reasoning is, I think, too insecure to be adopted by any prudent theologian ; and of its danger we have recently had a very striking example. The respectable bishop of Aire, simply from his own private view of the divine attributes, has ventured to maintain, that infallibility *must* reside in the catholic church. Yet, if we can submit to introduce into dogmatical theology the rational Newtonian principle of *experiment*, we shall find the direct opposite of the bishop's conclusion established by *naked facts*.

2. The bishop further argues in favour of the infallibility

of the church, from the interpretation which he himself puts upon various promises and expressions of our blessed Saviour.

On the one side we have *facts*; on the other side we have *the bishop's proposed interpretation of our Saviour's language*. That our Lord made certain promises, and employed certain expressions, no person will deny; but, when the bishop's interpretation of his language is found to be contradicted by *facts*, I see not what conclusion we can rationally draw, save that the interpretation is erroneous. Christ *himself* cannot err; but it is very possible that the partisan of a particular set of opinions may *misapprehend* his meaning.

The bishop, be it observed, does not argue from our Lord's promises and expressions *themselves*, but from his own *interpretation* of those promises and expressions. Now, we protestants give an entirely different exposition of them; and, by *our* exposition, (into which it is assuredly quite irrelevant to enter,) no such result, as the infallibility of the church and the supremacy of the see of Rome, is produced.

Doubtless, the *bishop* may object to *our* interpretation, just as *we* object to *his*. But, whether we be right or wrong in *our* view of Christ's language, we at least have *this* advantage over the bishop. *His* interpretation is *confuted* by facts; *our* interpretation *corresponds* with them.

3. The bishop lastly argues, that the catholic church, which he would confine within the pale of the western Latin church, cannot err in her doctrines, because they have regularly descended to her, step by step, from the apostles themselves, whose inspired infallibility is acknowledged by all.

This argument is an extension of the well-known argument from *prescription*, employed so successfully by Irenæus and Tertullian in the second century.

Doctrines, they contend, received through the medium of only two or three links from the apostles themselves, and with one consent declared by all the various churches then in existence to have been thus received, cannot be false. Thus, for instance, Irenæus, himself the pupil of Polycarp the disciple of St. John, bears witness to *the fact*, that, in his time, all the churches in the world held the doctrine of our Lord's divinity; each professing to have received it, through the medium of one or two or three links, from the apostles; and his testimony is corroborated by Hegesippus, who, about the middle of the second century, travelled from Asia to Rome, and found the same system of doctrine uniformly established in every church. Facts of this description form the basis of the reasoning adopted by Irenæus and Tertullian; and the conclusion which they deduce from it, is, *the moral impossibility of the catholic system of theology being erroneous*.\*

Such is the argument, as managed by those two ancient fathers; but, as employed by the bishop of Aire, it is a mere fallacy, the detection of which is not very difficult.

What was a very good argument in the second century, when the various allied branches of the catholic church universally symbolized in doctrine, and when no church was separated from the apostles by more than one or two or three links, is but a very sorry argument in the nineteenth century, when we are separated from the apostles by some sixty links of a chain, which extends through a long period of darkness and violence and superstition. That various innovations *would* be introduced in the course of such a period, we might well, from the cumulative nature of tradition, reasonably anticipate; that various

\* Iren. adv. hæret. lib. i. c. 2, 3. lib. iii. c. 1, 3, 4. Hegesip. Apud. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 21. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæret. oper. p. 95-117.

innovations *have* been introduced in the course of that period, we learn most incontrovertibly from documents yet extant. The argument from *prescription*, so far (we will say) as it respects the nature of God and of Christ, the matters specially set forth in the ancient symbols of the church, is just as strong now as it was in the days of Irenæus and Tertullian ; because we still possess their writings ; and, consequently, for all controversial purposes with heretics, *we* occupy the identical place which *they* occupied. But the argument from *prescription*, as employed in the nineteenth century for the purpose of establishing those various unscriptural tenets which the bishop propounds *seriatim* as indispensable terms of communion with the church of Rome, is certainly inconclusive ; because, by no mechanism, can the chain be extended from the present age to the age of the apostles. Faithful history will, for the most part, enable us to ascertain the very time of their introduction ; and, if in any case we cannot specify the absolutely precise era (for the growth of error is frequently gradual), we can at least point out the period when no such tenets existed. Some of them, no doubt, are of considerable antiquity ; but, let their antiquity be what it may, if they originated *subsequently* to the apostolic age, the connecting chain is effectually broken, and they stand forth as convicted novelties. *Whatever is first, is true ; whatever is more recent, is spurious.* The argument from *prescription*, in the hands of Irenæus and Tertullian, invincibly establishes the catholic doctrines of Christ's godhead and the Trinity ; because it clearly connects them with the inspired apostolic college. But the argument from *prescription*, in the hands of the bishop of Aire, fails of establishing the various tenets for which he so eagerly contends ; because it wholly fails of connecting them with the infallible apostolic college, and thence of

necessity leaves them branded with the stigma of detected innovation.

III. How then, it may be asked, in these latter days of the world, are we to settle disputed points of doctrine and practice? How are we to avoid those divisions, which the bishop triumphantly exhibits as the opprobrium of the reformation?

An answer, not altogether unsatisfactory, may, I think, be given to this important question, without calling in the aid either of a pope or of a council.

1. As the Bible is confessedly the revealed will of God, and as no one pretends that we possess any other written, and therefore any other certain, revelation, we must evidently begin with rejecting every doctrine and every practice built upon such doctrine, which have clearly no foundation in Holy Scripture.

This process will at once sweep away a large heap of mere unauthorized innovations, which lamentably encumber the church of Rome, and which assuredly will never be adopted by those who take their divinity from the Bible alone.

2. When sundry innovations have been thus removed, as supported by no scriptural authority, other certain tenets will still remain, which, unlike the last, profess to be built upon the sure foundation of God's own inspired word.

Here our business is obviously reduced to *a point of interpretation*; and, as very different expositions may be given of the same passage, the question arises, *who is to determine which exposition is the truth?*

(1.) The bishop of Aire will doubtless say; *Consult the catholic church, the sole judge and depository of the true faith.*

This may be very good advice in the abstract; but the difficulty is to explain how such advice must be followed.



Had the church never varied, we might have had some reasonable expectation of success; but, unhappily, as it is well remarked by the deeply learned Chillingworth, *there have been popes against popes, councils against councils; councils confirmed by popes against councils confirmed by popes; the church of some ages against the church of other ages.*\* Under such circumstances, therefore, the bishop must not only advise us to consult the catholic church; but he must also specify, giving reasons for his specification, the exact time when the catholic church is to be consulted.

(2.) Others, perhaps, will exhort us to call in the right of private judgment, which has often been described more eloquently than wisely, as a main principle of protestantism, and which the bishop of Aire not unjustly reprobates as leading to nothing but confusion.

Of this principle, as exhibited by the bishop, and not unfrequently as exhibited also by unwary protestants, I entertain not a much higher opinion than the bishop himself does. The exercise of *insulated* private judgment, which in effect is the abuse of *legitimate* private judgment, must clearly convert the church catholic into a perfect Babel; and, although I deny the right of *such* private judgment to be a principle either of sound protestantism in general, or of the Anglican church in particular, yet I regret to say, that it has much too often been exercised, to the scandal of all sober men, and to the unspeakable detriment of genuine religion.

Having thus fairly stated my own sentiments, I shall explain what I conceive to be the difference between *legitimate private judgment* and *illegitimate private judgment*.

\* Chillingworth's Relig. of Protest. chap. iii. p. 147.

To a certain extent the bishop of Aire will allow, that private judgment *must* be exercised. Thus, I cannot read his lordship's very able work, and come to a conclusion upon it, without *so far* exercising private judgment : and the very tenor of the whole composition implies, that private judgment in the choice of their religion will be exercised by those English travellers, for whose especial benefit it seems to have been written. Thus, likewise, we shall introduce an universal skepticism, if we deny the right of forming a private judgment upon perfectly unambiguous propositions. No authoritative explanation can throw any additional light upon the several prohibitions of murder and theft and adultery, which occur in Holy Scripture. We read those prohibitions in the sacred volume ; we involuntarily exercise our private judgment upon their import ; and, by its mere simple exercise alone, we are *all* brought, without any need of inquiring the sense of the church, to one and the same interpretation. In these matters, and in various others which might easily be specified, I hold private judgment to be strictly legitimate ; and I feel persuaded that the bishop of Aire will not disagree with me.

But, though there is such a thing as *legitimate private judgment* in matters of religion, there doubtless is such a thing also as *illegitimate private judgment*. Now this last modification I would define to be *private judgment, in the interpretation of litigated passages of Scripture, exercised after a perfectly independent or insulated manner*.

Against *this* exercise of private judgment, which is a lamentable abuse of the reformation, all prudent and judicious men must strenuously protest. It assuredly can only be the fruitful parent of discord and error. For if, without using those means of ascertaining the truth which God has put into our hands, this man and that man, after a simple

inspection of a litigated text, shall *dogmatically* and *independently* pronounce that such or such an interpretation *must* set forth its true meaning; we shall doubtless have small prospect of ever arriving at a reasonable certainty in regard to the mind of Scripture. The absurdity of such a proceeding is self-evident; for, if each individual, disdaining all *extrinsic* aid, is to be his own *independent* expositor, we may well nigh have as many expositions of litigated texts, as there exist rash and ignorant and self-opinionated individuals; and, accordingly, we must not dissemble, that, from the *illegitimate* exercise of *insulated* private judgment, sects, rivalling each other in presumptuous unscriptural folly, have sprung up like mushrooms. Thus acted not the wise reformers of the church of England. I greatly mistake if, in any one instance, they can be shown to have exercised that *insulated* private judgment which I agree with the bishop in heartily reprobating. In fact, they possessed far too much theological learning, and far too much sound intellect, to fall into the palpable error now before us.

(3.) Omitting then *the mere dogmatism of the Latin church* on the one hand, and *the wanton exercise of illegitimate private judgment* on the other hand, the practice of those venerable and profound theologians, who presided over the reformation of the Anglican church, will teach us, that the most rational mode of determining differences is *a recurrence to first principles, or an appeal to that primitive church which was nearest to the times of the apostles.*

Certainly the inspired apostles of the Lord must have fully known the genuine doctrines of christianity. What was the true sense of the written word, on all important points, they would assuredly explain to their immediate disciples. Their conversations and their compositions could not disagree. Hence their immediate disciples, thus

carefully taught and catechized, would teach and maintain the same doctrinal system that the apostles taught and maintained. In process of time, error and corruption might doubtless creep into the church; but the introduction of error is not instantaneous: experience shows its progress to be gradual. On these perfectly intelligible grounds, some considerable period must have elapsed, before any material inroad was made into the apostolic doctrine within the pale of the catholic church herself; and a yet longer period must have been evolved, before any considerable doctrinal error became the prevailing opinion. Polycarp of Smyrna was a hearer of the apostles, and especially of St. John, who seems, through God's providence, to have been preserved alive after all his brethren, for the purpose of authoritatively determining the truth against the growing heresies of the times. Irenæus of Lyons was the scholar of Polycarp, the disciple of St. John; and from him he professed, in common with all the churches of proconsular Asia, to have received his theology. Justin Martyr calls himself *a disciple of the apostles*; by which, according to the phraseology of the day, we must understand him to have been a pupil of those apostolical men who were placed in the several churches by the apostles themselves; and, accordingly, since he flourished only about forty years after the death of St. John, he must by the very necessity of chronology, have conversed with the scholars of the apostles. Clement of Alexandria professed to be the pupil of Pantenus, who by some of the ancients is said to have been a disciple of the apostles, and who doubtless had heard the fathers denominated *apostolical*. Contemporary with Clement was Tertullian; and to these succeeded Origen and Cyprian; one generation of early teachers still following another.\*

\* Clement of Alexandria, who flourished toward the latter end of

The several writers here enumerated, though but few out of many, form a chain which reaches up to St. John and the apostles. Hence, if we can be morally certain of any thing, we may be sure, that, in their exposition of Scripture, so far as the great leading doctrines of christianity are concerned, they would proceed, either on direct apostolic authority, or at least according to the then universally known analogy of apostolic faith. Can we believe, for instance, if John and the apostles had diligently taught the bare humanity of Christ and the impersonal unity of the Godhead, that their immediate disciples, and the scholars of their immediate disciples, would agree in expounding a variety of texts after the precise manner in which they are expounded by the Trinitarian? Would not the very reverse have proved to be the case? Should we not have found all these litigated texts distinctly and unanimously interpreted by them, not after the mode adopted by the modern trinitarian, but after some such mode as that which is recommended by the modern anti-trinitarian?\*

the second century, expressly tells us, that some of the disciples of Peter and James, and John and Paul, had lived even down to his time, regularly conveying to that generation, like sons from their fathers, the true apostolic doctrine.—Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 274. 275. Colon. 1688.—In a similar manner Justin Martyr declares, that he and the men of his own ecclesiastical generation had been instructed, in the joint worship of the Father and the Son and the prophetic Spirit, by the catechists of the generation which preceded him, and which itself must inevitably have conversed with St. John.—Justin. Apol. i. vulg. ii. oper. p. 43. Sylburg. 1593.—Clement flourished about forty years later than Justin. Hence, on chronological principles, Clement, I imagine, must in his *youth* have conversed with the apostolical men whom he notices; just as his partial contemporary Irenæus describes himself to have conversed with Polycarp.—Iren. adv. hæer. lib. iii. c. 3. §. 3.

\* On this topic I venture to speak with positiveness and decision



Here then, I apprehend, we have a rationally satisfactory method of determining those differences in regard to the import of Scripture, which must ever spring up from *the illegitimate use of insulated private judgment*.

Where, in her yet existing documents, the primitive church is explicit, we must, so far as I can judge, on the principles of right reason, submit ourselves to her decision; where she is silent, or indefinite, or ambiguous, we must, I fear, be content still mutually to differ in opinion.

It will readily be perceived, that the bishop's mode of settling differences varies from mine in the important article of *extension*.

*He* would carry the chain down to the present time: *I* deem it more prudent to stop in the primitive ages.

Perhaps it may be asked, where *I* would draw the line? To this captious, but fallacious, question, I judge it sufficient to give the following answer:—

Where a writer propounds a doctrine which rests not upon the firm basis of Scripture, I would reject it as a commandment of men, let the writer flourish when he may; and, where a later writer differs from an earlier writer in

From my own personal examination I can attest, that the passages in the New Testament litigated by trinitarians and anti trinitarians, are constantly understood and interpreted by the fathers of the three first centuries in the same manner as they are now understood and interpreted by modern trinitarians. The work, denominated *The New Testament in an improved version*, is the most perfect example of *the illegitimate exercise of insulated private judgment* with which I am acquainted. Totally opposing itself to the decisions of the catholic church nearest to the times of the apostles, it exhibits interpretations of the litigated texts, framed upon the mere independent dogmata of Dr. Priestley and Mr. Belsham, but altogether unknown to the ecclesiastics of the three first centuries. I adduce this production to exemplify what I mean by *the illegitimate use of insulated private judgment*. If we ask a reason, *why* the litigated texts are thus expounded, no answer can be given, save the good pleasure of the editor.

his exposition of a litigated doctrinal text, I should *generally* deem the authority of the earlier writer preferable, inasmuch as he stands nearer to the fountain-head of apostolic purity.

Such a method of checking the license of private judgment, and of attaining to the truth with as much moral certainty as God has been pleased to allow, seems, in the main, unobjectionable. To the ancient ecclesiastical writers I ascribe not the infallibility of inspiration ; but, as evidences of the doctrine of the primitive church, and thence ultimately as evidences also of the doctrine of the inspired apostles and of our Lord himself, they may justly be deemed invaluable.



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ON THE  
**GOSPEL OF JOHN,**

EXTRACTED FROM

**Eschhorn's Einleitung in das Neue Testament,**

[Vol. II. pt. vi. §§. 158, 159, 164, 169, 170.]

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,  
BY THE REV. DANIEL YOUNG, A. M.

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ON THE  
**GOSPEL OF JOHN,**  
&c. &c.

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SECTION I.

*First part of the Gospel.*

*Arrangement of the Materials of the History.*

THE fourth Gospel naturally divides itself into two parts, and an Appendix. The first part (ch. i.—xii.) is designed to exhibit proof, that Jesus was the Messiah promised to the Jews; (xii. 37. compared with xx. 30, 31.)—the second (xiii.—xx.) is intended to furnish an accurate history of the last days of the life of Jesus, his apprehension, execution, and resurrection, as we learn from its contents: the Appendix (xxi.) is added to contradict the assertion, that Jesus had promised the Apostle John, that he should not die. (xxi. 23.)

1. It is not the design of this Gospel to give a regular connected history of the life of Jesus: otherwise how could the scene of the different events be changed from one place to another without any notice of the transition? Thus, immediately after the journey to Jerusalem, and the description of the regard shown him on account of the restoration of the man, who had been lame thirty-eight years; (v. 1.—47.) Jesus is represented as passing over the sea, (vi. 1.) without mentioning his journey back to Galilee, which makes it appear as if the sea of Galilee lay near Jerusalem. Can a historian, who adopts such an arrangement, be sup-

posed to be solicitous about a strict connexion? Can he be expected to furnish any thing more than an exhibition of the various remarkable events? And as John's object was to furnish proof, that Jesus, with whom the λόγος was united, was the promised Messiah; what more could he need for this purpose, than a succession of scenes from the life of Jesus, adapted to set this truth in the clearest light?

2. Such, then, is the arrangement which John has adopted; and the geographical division of Palestine lies at the foundation of his arrangement.

In the first section he shows how Jesus was gradually made known as the Messiah throughout all Palestine: 1. By the testimony of John the Baptist beyond Jordan, (i. 19. 52.). 2. Afterwards in Galilee, (ii. 1.—12.) 3. Then at Jerusalem, (ii. 13.—iii. 21.) 4. Afterwards in Judea, (iii. 22.—36.) and finally in Samaria (iv. 1.—42.). The Evangelist closes this section by remarking, that we need not be surprised, that Jesus had little success in Galilee, his place of residence; yet there were some Galileans, who understood the excellency and dignity of his person. (iv. 43.—54.)

In the second section the Evangelist collects in the same local order the speeches of Jesus, in which he illustrated and proved his personal dignity for the instruction of his hearers. 1. *At Jerusalem*, at a feast, (we are not told what one,) after healing the man, who had been lame thirty-eight years. (v. 1.—47.) 2. *In Galilee*, where he fed the five thousand. (vi. 1.—71.) 3. *Similar speeches in Judea* ought to follow, but Jesus did not venture thither again, since as a solitary, or isolated teacher, he could not there enjoy sufficient security. (vii. 1.) Therefore he went into Jerusalem, the capital of Judea, and delivered similar discourses, at the feast of Tabernacles; because there, surrounded by the multitude of his followers, he could teach with less danger than in the open country. (vii.

2.—x. 39.) 4. *On the other side of Jordan* he taught once more ; yet he does not appear to have delivered any discourse there on his union with God : hence John confined himself merely to the information, that he obtained many followers there. (x. 40. 42.)\* As the first section closed with an account of the limited success of Christ among the Galileans, so the Evangelist closes the second with the account of Lazarus, and the reputation, which his resurrection had procured ; in order to throw light on his apprehension and execution, which soon after followed.

The opinion, therefore, common as it is, that the materials are arranged according to passovers, has no foundation in the Gospel itself. We might rather assume the two principal journies through Palestine, as the grounds of the arrangement, and hence conclude, that Jesus was only present at two passovers at Jerusalem : the first, immediately after his public appearance ; (ii. 13.) and the second at the close of his official labours ; (xii. 1—19.)† In his first journey through the country he merely showed himself to be the Messiah by signs : and in the second he unfolded more distinctly his character and dignity : neither however required a progressive narrative in unbroken succession, but merely a selection of circumstances and discourses adapted to the purpose.

## SECTION II.

*John presupposes the existence of another Gospel, which he occasionally corrects and enlarges.*

The Gospel of John does not claim to be considered a

\* Nothing more is said of Samaria, because Jesus passed through it but once. Prudence dictated, that he should not visit it oftener, lest he should weaken the impression made by his instructions among the Jews.

† The ἐορτή mentioned v. 1. could hardly be the passover, and vi. 4. is probably interpolated.

complete history. He enlarges only on the exalted dignity of Jesus, and his close alliance with God, while he passes over almost entirely the moral part of his instructions. He was well acquainted with the numerous miracles performed on the lame, the blind, the deaf, and others suffering under infirmities, which the other evangelists describe; yet he says himself, that he has given but a few of these signs, and declares himself incompetent to detail the whole. (xx. 30. xxi. 25.) Is not this a distinct acknowledgment that he intended to exhibit only some select events of the life of Christ? Is not the same design also manifest from his enlargement in particular passages?

The biography of a man, whose object is to found a new school, and who for this purpose selects a number of the most competent of his contemporaries, ought, in order to form a perfect history, to furnish particular information respecting the men in whom he confided to advance his cause. Yet where in John's Gospel do we find even a general enumeration, much less a circumstantial account, of the disciples of Christ? We find the twelve mentioned, but how this number was obtained, what were their names, how early they were chosen, and of other circumstances related to these, we are not informed. Does he not take it for granted, that his readers were sufficiently acquainted with these important points? So also he passes over in silence the peculiar institutions of Christ,—Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the form of prayer which he prescribed to his disciples. Should it be said, that these institutions were in general use in the time of John, and this prayer in the mouth of every christian, and hence required no notice; yet he frequently presupposes subjects and circumstances, which were not thus known. He introduces John the Baptist as beginning his testimony of Christ, "This is he of whom I spake unto you: he that cometh after me was indeed before me," (i. 15.) yet he

gives no intimation, that the Baptist, as the forerunner of Christ, had required reformation of his contemporaries, because a greater teacher, the Messiah, was to come after him ; in order that the Messiah might thus find a reformed people, and not be himself compelled to proceed to rigorous measures for reformation. Of the union of the Spirit of God with Jesus he represents the Baptist as relating in a very vague manner : " This is he, on whom I saw, when baptizing, the Spirit descending like a dove, and abiding on him ;" as if the occasion on which the Baptist received this vision were a matter of no importance, and as if its probability did not depend on our knowing, that it occurred at the moment when John was baptizing him. Does not John close the narrative of Christ's entrance into Jerusalem, as if his readers were already informed, that the disciples had prepared a young ass for the occasion ? " After the attainment of his exalted condition," (says the Evangelist, xii. 16.) " his disciples remembered, that the passage in Zechariah, describing the entrance of a King sitting on a colt, applied to Jesus, and that it was necessary, that they should have done this ;" (viz. bring the young ass,) and yet he tells us nothing of the disciples bringing the colt. More examples are found in John's Gospel in which the knowledge of circumstances and events is presupposed in the reader.

When such appearances are observed in a historical work, we must either suppose, that the author has presented his subject in a perplexed and mutilated manner, or that he wrote for readers, who already possessed from other sources such knowledge of the events, as would enable them to understand his brief intimations. The first supposition is contradicted by the general character of this Gospel, the accuracy of its statements and illustrations, the judgment displayed in the selection and exhibition of the materials, and the beautiful arrangement. and fulness, which exhibits



distinctly the scope, or object of every incident narrated. It is therefore more probable, that the Evangelist wrote for readers, whom he supposed to be already acquainted with the history of the Life of Christ. But from what sources? oral or written? We can hardly suppose from oral tradition. A historian cannot trust to oral tradition for the illustration of his subject; for the very object of history is to rescue the subject from tradition by permanent record. And can he take it for granted with entire certainty, that all his readers shall possess such a familiar traditional knowledge of the subject in its whole compass, as to render his representation intelligible; especially since oral tradition does not communicate events with sufficient minuteness to enable the readers of a history to bring to the work as full a knowledge of circumstances, as the historian might presuppose. A memoir, which enlarges on remarkable circumstances of a certain character, and abridges or omits other circumstances, can be written with a certainty of being intelligible, only when reference is made directly to some written document already in common use.\* In this case a writer knows what knowledge he may suppose his readers to possess and what not; what must be explained, and what needs no explanation; where enlargement is requisite, and where he may be brief. If, therefore, we adopt the opinion, that John composed his Gospel with special reference to a memoir of Jesus already extant and generally known, we must acquit him of the charge of ambiguity in expression, and deficiency in illustration, in such passages as have been noticed, and many similar ones, occurring especially in the second part of the Gospel.

\* The opinion, that references and allusions are made to the first three Gospels, has been adopted by many learned men; as Michaelis in his *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testament*, fourth edition, p. 1158, and Storr *Ueber den Zweck des Evang. Joh.* p. 246.

From the presupposed document, which was generally read, the choice and the names of the twelve disciples were known; from this was it understood, what exhortations John, the Baptist, had delivered, and how he had represented the great teacher, whose forerunner he professed to be: from this the occasion was known, on which John in an apocalyptic vision was informed, that the Spirit of God was united with Jesus; from the same source the activity of the disciples in providing the young ass for their Master's entrance into Jerusalem was indicated, &c. &c.\*

This view of his Gospel appears still more clearly from the second part; which contains the history of the last night before Christ's apprehension, of his arrest itself, and of his execution, and restoration to life. Without the Hypothesis, that John presupposed another document in the hands of his readers, we can hardly account for the circumstantial fulness of his narrative in some places, and its deficiency in others. He omits the appointment of the passover, and merely intimates its celebration (xii. 1. 2.) in his account of the circumstances, which first produced in Judas the resolution to betray his Master; and in his description of the washing of the feet, which from its nature must take place immediately after the assemblage of the guests in the hall. He passes in entire silence the most important circumstances connected with the celebration of this passover, the abrogation of the old sacrament—the Paschal lamb, and the institution of the new—the holy Supper. If John did not intend merely to furnish what had been omitted in a former document, how could he enlarge so fully on the washing of the feet, which was merely an adventitious circumstance, and entirely omit the Eucha-

\* Several paragraphs are here omitted, partly for the sake of brevity, but principally because they contain matter not immediately necessary to the main point of the section.—[Tr.]

rist, which was a subject of fundamental importance. How incomprehensibly defective is his account of the apprehension of Christ, and the arrangement of the trial, unless he wrote with reference to some history already extant. According to John's narrative, Jesus alluded more than once during the Supper to the intention of Judas; and yet he says nothing of his execution of this purpose, except that Judas stood with the party sent to take Jesus (xviii. 5.) He says nothing of the manner in which Judas pointed him out to the band—nothing of the address of Jesus to Judas. The original Gospel\* (das Urevangelium) had already given an excellent account of this part of the history, but had omitted the particular circumstances respecting the guard itself, their alarm at the deliberate and cool address of Jesus, and his other conversation with them, until they took him prisoner; hence the Evangelist describes these at large, (xviii. 4—9.) and he gives also the name of the disciple who used his sword, and of the servant who was wounded. (xviii. 10.) He makes it evident, that we should distinguish between his examination before Annas and that before Caiaphas, (xviii. 13. 19—21.) but of the trial by the Jews themselves, the arrangement of the process, and the composition of the indictment with which he was sent to the procurator, he says not a word. How deficient therefore the history, unless some written document is presupposed. The account of the proceedings at Pilate's tribunal is enlarged (xviii. 33. xix. 12.) in proportion to the

\* Probably few readers of the Repertory need be informed, that Eichhorn adopted the opinion, that Matthew, Mark, and Luke derived the substance of their Gospels from a common Hebrew document which is still extant in those passages, which are common to the three Gospels. To this document he alludes above. It is hardly necessary to say, that his reasoning will be equally conclusive, if we suppose the reference made to the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, or to either of the other Gospels, or to all of them.—[Tr.]

brevity and defectiveness of the history given by the other Evangelists out of the original Gospel: yet how unintelligible will be the commencement of the conference of Pilate with the Jews, who brought Jesus to him, unless we connect with it the charge, or indictment, as given in the original Gospel, "That Jesus, by claiming to be King of the Jews, had made himself liable to crucifixion as a rebel." (xviii. 29—31.)

*Pilate*: "What complaint do ye make against this man?"

*The Jews*: "He is a malefactor, therefore have we brought him hither."

*Pilate*: "Then pronounce judgment upon him, according to your law."

*The Jews*: "We are only permitted in very rare instances to execute any man."

By these words the Jews are said to have accomplished the prediction of Jesus respecting the manner of his death, viz: "that he should be crucified." This is intelligible only when connected with the charge made by the Sanhedrim; "That Jesus was accused of treason, which was punishable with crucifixion: the Jews could however have merely stoned him as a blasphemer of God." The Jews simply tell Pilate that Jesus was a malefactor, yet he appears to have known (xviii. 23.) that treason was the alleged crime, and hence immediately asks, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" Could a historian like John, who, when he writes independently, arranges his ideas with so much order, have crowded these questions together in such a manner, if he had not written with reference to some existing narrative of these events?

If John is defective in these passages, he is the more satisfactory where he enlarges. He accurately distinguishes the first charge against Jesus, viz. that of *treason*, (because he had announced himself to be the King of the

Jews,) from the other charge, viz. that of *blasphemy*, (for which, if for nothing else, he deserved to be stoned,) to which the Jews ultimately had recourse when they saw that Pilate would not regard the first accusation. So also John gives a clear account of the scourging of Jesus, (which the original Gospel had omitted,) placing it in its proper connexion and just point of view. (xix. 1.)

In the history of the crucifixion also John is more concise, than he would have been, had he not referred to some previous writing; corrects some circumstances, as the division of the garments, (xix. 23.) and the draught of vinegar, (xix. 29.) which were noticed in the original Gospel; and adds others which had been omitted, as the conversation of Jesus with his mother and John, and the request of the Jews to have the malefactor's legs broken, (xix. 26, 27. 31.)

John mentions the assistance of Nicodemus at the burial of Christ, and contradicts the report that the tomb in which Jesus was laid, belonged to Joseph of Arimathea. (xix. 38—41.)

Is more evidence required to prove, that John knew that a biographical account of Jesus, was circulated among christians? But it will be difficult to determine whether this was the original document, or the first three Gospels.

[The section concludes with a discussion of this question, which is here omitted to avoid extending the article into undue length.]

### SECTION III.

#### *Contents of the first part of this Gospel.*

I. In the fourth Gospel two things are premised by way of introduction: the idea we are to form of the *λόγος*, (i. 1—5.) and of Jesus as the Messiah; and the manner in



which his high character, and personal dignity were made known by the intervention of John the Baptist. (i. 6—34.)

II. We should next expect to be informed, how Jesus gradually obtained his early followers. This is accordingly the subject of the following sections. (i. 35—iv. 54.)—

1. His first followers came from the school of the Baptist, who had the high opinion, which their instructor had taught them to form of him, confirmed by his profound penetration into the hearts and characters of men. (i. 35—51.)—

2. He obtained five disciples on his journey from Bethany,\* whom he confirmed in their estimate of his personal dignity at the marriage in Cana of Galilee. (ii. 1—12.)—

3. Many of the common people among the Jews derived the same opinion of his character, from the authority he assumed at Jerusalem as a reformer of religion. (ii. 13—25.)

—4. Jesus knew how to treat even Nicodemus, a learned Jew, who came privately to him, in such a manner as to make it evident, that he could penetrate the heart of every man. In his intercourse with him, though a man of education, and competent to investigate the case, he did not hesitate to profess openly, that his penetration, or knowledge was of divine origin. It is not however expressly declared, that Nicodemus was convinced by this conference of the dignity of Jesus as the Messiah: yet, since in another part of this Gospel (xix. 39.) he is represented as a disciple, this may be concluded as a matter of course without express declaration. (iii. 1—21.)

Soon, however, envy was awakened among the followers of the Baptist on account of the multitudes flocking to Jesus. John rebuked his disciples for this dissatisfaction. “Such is the dispensation. Jesus is greater than the Baptist; he is merely the forerunner, Jesus the Messiah. He

\* *Bethany* is the reading which Griesbach adopts instead of *Bethabara*.—[TR.]

must therefore decrease in honour and disciples, Jesus on the contrary must increase in both." (iii. 22—30.) The Evangelist then confirms this judgment respecting Christ from his own observation. (iii. 31—36.)—5. The Samaritans, to whom Jesus without circumlocution declared himself to be the Messiah, readily received him in this character after two days' intercourse.

6 Even the Galileans, who had witnessed his works at a festival in Jerusalem, received Jesus on his arrival in Galilee with much higher regard than he himself had expected in his native country, where so many prejudices were operating against him. (iv. 43—45.) Even the royal officer at Capernaum acknowledged him as the Messiah, after he had judged so correctly of the crisis of his servant's disease, (merely from his account, without having seen the sick man,) that he really recovered according to the prediction of Christ. (iv. 46—53.) So universal and profound was his penetration. The statement of this transaction must remove the objection, that we should have expected the first acknowledgment of his dignity as the Messiah in Galilee, his native country ; and it serves at the same time as a transition to the extraordinary works, which convinced his contemporaries of his greatness.

We find repeated intimations in the preceding sections, that his remarkable wisdom, manifested in his deep insight into the hearts, characters, and circumstances of men, had persuaded his contemporaries of his Messiahship : (i. 35—51. iii. 1—21.) yet in this his divine wisdom was exhibited merely in a partial and feeble point of view. In his doctrines it shone in clearer light. This class of proof the Evangelist intended to present in its full extent. Yet most of his discourses are connected with his extraordinary works : these furnish the occasions of his speeches, and the clew to his meaning : and hence they cannot be separated. Therefore his discourses are attached to some of his mira-

cles—to the healing of a man at the pool of Bethesda, who had been ill 38 years ; (v. 1—47.)—to the feeding of the 5000 ; (vi. 1—71.)—to the restoration of sight to one born blind ; (ix. 1—x. 21.)—and the resurrection of Lazarus : (xi. 1—46.) yet these miracles were introduced principally because the reputation they had procured for him had hastened his execution. On the other hand the Evangelist passes in silence all the miracles of Jesus, which were not connected with discourses in which his divine wisdom was displayed.

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#### SECTION IV.

##### *The second part of the Gospel.*

On the second part of the Gospel of John little need be said after the preceding enumeration. (sec. II.) Its object was partly to enlarge, and partly to correct the information which had been circulated, respecting the last hours of Jesus, from the passover to his burial, and his restoration to life. This view explains the writer's brevity, in some places, and enlargement in others ; his omission of any notice of the Eucharist, and of the process of the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrim ; and his circumstantial description of the washing of the disciples' feet : the collection of the last discourses of Christ to his disciples, before they left the Supper chamber ; and other things of the same kind. In the history of the resurrection, on the contrary, John strictly confines himself to what he knew with certainty as an eyewitness—what he himself had heard, and seen, and experienced ; in order that every thing uncertain might be excluded from the narrative. In an event so unexpected as the resurrection of Christ, on a day, too, when surprise and gladness kept all in agitation, real circumstances, and

conjectures must have been blended together ; false reports must have been circulated with the truth ; misunderstandings with facts. What more could a faithful historian do under such circumstances than to reject all foreign reports, and adhere simply to what he knew from his own observation ?

After describing these events, John concludes his narrative (xx. 30, 31.) by observing, that he did not introduce all the miracles of Jesus into his book, but merely such as were necessary to convince his readers, that Jesus was the Messiah.

## SECTION V.

### *The Appendix to the Gospel.*

In an Appendix the report, that Jesus had predicted, that the Apostle John should not die before his last advent, is contradicted. To show its incorrectness, the author mentions particularly the occasion on which the words of Christ were uttered, which by a misapprehension gave rise to this report ; and shows by a detail of particular circumstances, that he recollected accurately the very expressions which had been used. From this detail of circumstances we might conclude, that the man to whom the words were addressed was himself the author of the narrative, even if we did not know, that the uniform testimony of the church had ascribed this section to John : for the fathers who mention it, Origen, Cyril, and Chrysostom, quote it as a part of the Gospel of John.

Still the genuineness of this chapter has been questioned on various pretences. As other hands closed the pentateuch and the book of Joshua with accounts of the deaths of Moses and Joshua, so also after the death of John some other person unquestionably might have appended to his

Gospel the information, that his long life, and preservation from martyrdom had fulfilled the prediction of Jesus. The composition of this appendix has been ascribed by some to Caius, by others to John the presbyter, and by others with more probability to the church of Ephesus. According to another turn, which has been given to this question, John was dead; the return, or last advent of Christ was delayed: to prevent any injurious inferences, some well disposed person added this chapter to the Gospel of John, to show that Christ had not said, that John should be still alive at his last return; and that he used the words *ὥς ἐρχομαι* in a different sense.\* Yet the grounds, on which these opinions rest, do not afford satisfactory evidence of the spuriousness of this appendix.

1. "Had not John already (xx. 31.) concluded his Gospel with the proper subscription? What follows therefore must be a foreign addition."—An addition undoubtedly,

\* Beza and Hammond in *Evan. Johan.* declare only xxi. 25, 26. spurious. The whole xxth chapter is rejected by Grotius in *Comment. ad Johan.* xx. 30. xxi. 24. Clericus ad *Hammondi Annot.* in loc. cit. Pfaff *de Variis Leett. N. T. c. ii. §. 5.* Mörl in *Scholiis Philol. et Crit. in Sel. Cod. Sac. Loca.* Semler in *paraphr. Evan. Johan.* These writers were opposed by Millius in *Proleg. in N. Test.* 249. Rich. Simon. *Hist. Crit. du N. T.* Lampe in *Comment. Vol. 3.* Osiander *Diss. qua Authentia Cap. 21. Evang. Joh. pertractatur.* Pabst *de Authentia Cap. 21. Evan. Joh.* Michaelis *Introd. to the N. T. Vol. 2.* In modern times the authenticity of the passage has been attacked by Gurlitt *Lectionum in N. T. Specimen III.* Paulus *Noves Repertorium. pt. II.* The principles of the last are illustrated in *Allgem. Bibl. 3.* and in J. F. Krause *Vindiciae Cap. Ult. Evan. Joh. disput. praes. J. F. Matthaei.* The objections of the last named are answered by Paulus *Memorabilien pt. 5.* Wegscheider, in his *Complete Introduction* has collected all that is essential from the works on this controversy.



but not necessarily foreign, unless some special circumstances require us to suppose it a foreign hand.

2. "Be it so indeed; yet the style is different from John's. In other places he uniformly speaks of himself in the third person, but here in the first; οἶμαι, I suppose."—But does not John in his first Epistle, which is undoubtedly genuine, say, γράφω ὑμῖν, (1 John ii. 12, 13.) ἐγγράφα ὑμῖν. (v. 14.) If therefore he has not spoken of himself in the first person in his Gospel; yet his first Epistle proves, that in reference to this point he adopted different modes at different times; having at one time spoken of himself without exception in the third person, and at another unquestionably in the first. Might he not therefore, in an appendix to the Gospel, written at a later period, have adopted the first person, although in the Gospel itself he had never used it when he spoke of himself? The same remark may also be applied to the change of the singular number into the plural in this passage: Οὕτως ἐστὶν ὁ μαθητὴς, ὁ γράφας τὰντα· καὶ οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ. (xx. 24.) Does the plural, "we know," necessarily refer us to the church of Ephesus? May it not, as a pluralis communicativus, according to John's usage, signify, "every one knows—it is generally known, that he speaks the truth." Could the author of this appendix, who, as appears from his ὁ γράφας τὰντα, wishes to be taken for John, have so far forgotten himself, as to write οἶδαμεν, if the plural in this connexion had not been restricted to this definite signification? And indeed the author, like other writers in similar circumstances, might have put it directly for οἶδα, as he proceeded afterwards with οἶμαι in the singular number.

3. "But a Jew, born in Palestine, would not be likely to write so elegantly, as to use the attick form of οἶμαι. (xxi. 25.)"

Yet are there not worse writers than John, who occasionally introduce a happy, well chosen word, or an elegant

idiom? "But φιλεῖν, which occurs repeatedly in this section, (as xxi. 15—17.) is nowhere else one of John's favourite words." Yet he uses it in seven other places in the Gospel, as the concordance shows: and he also exchanges it as synonymous with ἀγαπᾶν. The style of the chapter altogether is entirely similar to the rest of the Gospel: and if it was added by another hand, that hand must have been well practised in imitating the style of others, or it could not have reached so happily the peculiarities which characterise the composition of John.\* Here, as in other places, we find the noun and the verb repeated from the preceding sentence, as in vs. 1, 17, 21, compared with xx. 11; here the interchange of synonymous words where the same idea recurs, as βόσκειν and ποιμαίνειν, πρόβατα and ἀρνία, like εἰμι and ὑπάγω, vii. 24; and here also the succession of numerous propositions without connective particles.

4. "The subject of the chapter however does not accord with the supposition of its being written by John, an Apostle and actual witness of the resurrection: for he could not have spoken merely of three appearances of Jesus to his disciples, when he must have known, that there were four. John himself enumerates three; the fourth, made to the disciples on the way to Emmaus, (Luke xxiv. 18.) could not have been unknown to him, since Peter himself was probably the unnamed disciple, who accompanied Cleopas to Emmaus."—"The whole of this may be questioned. Peter certainly was not the companion of Cleopas: for if he had been, the assembled disciples would not have addressed them on their entrance into the company after their return; "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon." (Luke xxiv. 34.) The enumeration is more accurate: it was undoubtedly the third appearance vouchsafed to the Apostles, (μαθηταῖς. xiii. 5. xviii. 1. xx. 25.) Although Nathaniel, who

\* J. D. Michaelis *Auferstehungsgeschichte* at this chapter.

was present at the third appearance, was not an Apostle, yet, as the greater number present were Apostles, it might be called an exhibition made to the Apostles.

5. "But how shall the historical difficulties of this chapter be removed? According to this Appendix, the Disciples of Jesus, whom we should expect to find at Jerusalem, are found in Galilee; they are there occupied in the fishery, instead of preparing with zeal for their commission, as heralds of the new religion through the world; and Nathaniel, whom we should have sought among the dead, is still found among the disciples."

a. "According to the Appendix the Apostles held intercourse with Jesus after his resurrection in Galilee: yet they had received from him no injunction to go thither; neither can we suppose, according to the narrative of the other Evangelists, that they did go thither. The injunction of Christ to the disciples, requiring them to go into Galilee and see him there, was merely communicated by the women, who were at the grave on the morning of the resurrection. (Matt. xxviii. 10.) They had probably misunderstood the words of Jesus, who most likely said, that "he would appear to them on the way towards Galilee," (viz. on the mount of Olives, from which also Jesus ascended to heaven.)"

Jesus must, on this supposition, have expressed himself very strangely; for "*on the way towards Galilee*" would naturally refer to some place at a considerable distance from Jerusalem, while the Mount of Olives is in its immediate vicinity. Further, it is false, at least according to the enlargements of the original Gospel in Matthew and Mark, that the Apostles were not directed to go into Galilee; for Jesus a short time before his apprehension told his disciples, that he would go before them into Galilee. (Matt. xxvi. 32. Mark xiv. 28.) "But the declaration of John in another point is in opposition to any such injunction. Eight days

after the resurrection, the disciples are still at Jerusalem. (John xx. 26.) If they had expected the appearance of Jesus at Galilee, they would have set out immediately after they received the direction from the women: hence they did not go to Galilee." But how, if the direction of Jesus required, that they should go after the expiration of the passover, which continued seven days longer, could their presence at Jerusalem eight days after the resurrection seem strange? In this case they would only have complied with the injunction somewhat later. "This however could not have been the intention of Christ, for he himself on the day of his resurrection had enjoined upon them, not to leave Jerusalem, until they should (on the day of Pentecost) receive the Spirit. (Luke xxiv. 49.)" The first question is, whether this injunction itself is correct; as it is only found among the additions which Luke has made to the original Gospel; and if this is determined in the affirmative; the next is, whether it is here given in its chronological order, since we find Luke's chronology demonstrably inaccurate in other places. Supposing Jesus gave this direction to the Apostles after their return from Galilee, will not all difficulty vanish? Or if in this injunction, reference was only made to their setting out on their mission to propagate the new religion through the world, would it necessarily imply a prohibition of a journey for a short period to Galilee? As teachers of the world, they were not to receive their commission, nor leave Jerusalem, until the Spirit of God should rest upon them; and by the influence of the Gospel deliver them from all their prejudices.

b. In reference to the objection, that the Disciples were employed with fishing in Galilee, when they ought to have been preparing for their mission into the world, may we not ask, whether the teachers of those times are not considered too much in view of the manners of modern days?

If the theological speculations of modern times has rendered extensive preparation necessary for the sacred office ; does it follow, that the same degree was requisite in earlier ages, when the teachers were required to exhibit only a few very simple doctrines ? We might farther ask, how could they be supported until the commencement of their public instructions ; since it is natural to suppose, that the provisions they had previously enjoyed while in the society of their teacher, from the benevolence of wealthy females, would cease in consequence of his death and the consequent dispersion of his followers ?

c. But the author of the Appendix is also charged with error in representing Nathaniel as still among the living. (xxi. 2.) He is the only mentioned in the beginning of the Gospel, (i. 46.) and from the silence respecting him during the subsequent periods of the memoirs of Jesus, it is concluded, that he died soon after the commencement of Christ's ministry.—But does this necessarily follow from mere silence ? Can it be proved in any way, that the Evangelist ought to have mentioned him more frequently, had he still been living ?

The interpretation of Christ's words to Peter, (xxi. 18.) "When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest : but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not,"—a saying, which meant nothing more than, "In thine old age, thy labours in the Gospel shall be attended with many more difficulties, than in thy youth"—making a passage, so plain in its meaning, express a strange prediction of Peter's crucifixion, betrays a taste for the miraculous, altogether inconsistent with the character of John. Before the crucifixion of Peter, this meaning could not have been attached to the words ; so ambiguous and indefinite were they ; as if Jesus could justly be charged with having spoken in such



indefinite and ambiguous terms. Yet, since Jesus had said to Peter immediately after, "If I will that John remain alive, till my return, what is that to thee?"—John could not possibly have understood the words *stretching forth the hands* and *girding* in any other sense, than as by contrast intimating imprisonment and death—the misfortunes which Peter might expect in the propagation of the Gospel. Why might not this interpretation have been given to the words before Peter's crucifixion? And even if it could not, where is the injury to its authenticity, if this signification was attached to the words at a later period? Did not John write his Gospel at a late date, and must not the Appendix have been composed still later? What should prevent its composition after Peter's death? And why should we call this interpretation superstitious? And if it be so, can we deny that there are others of the same character in the Gospel of John? See xi. 51. xii. 15, 16.

7. Still further, the statement that the appearance of Jesus here noticed was the third, is objectionable in the place where it is introduced, (xzi. 14.) being in the midst of the narrative of the conversation then held; since it would stand in better rhetorical order at the conclusion of the narrative. But do the writers of the New Testament always place their propositions according to the prescriptions of rhetorick? And does it fall in as naturally after the notice of his appearance itself, before any account was given of the particular speeches then made?

8. Finally, the hyperbole, with which the Appendix concludes, is (who can deny it?) strong; but is it so unparalleled, as to afford proof of the spuriousness of the whole section?

## GLEANNINGS.

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I. Respecting the Authentic Letters of the Apostles mentioned by Tertullian. From the Appendix to Faber's *Difficulties of Romanism*.

It has been disputed, whether the *ipsæ authenticæ literæ*, mentioned by Tertullian in his treatise on Prescriptions, were *the autographs of the apostles* or only *accurate transcripts of them*.\*

From his expression, *Pcreurre ecclesias APOSTOLICAS*, when viewed in connexion with the subsequent context and with the avowed tenour of his argument, we may, I think, collect, that he speaks of *the apostolic autographs*.

I. Of this opinion, I draw out the proof, in manner following:—

The passage is introduced with the supposed case of a person, who, for his soul's health, is laudably curious to ascertain sound christian doctrine. *Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ.* Now the advice, which Tertullian gives to such a person, is, that he should resort to the APOSTOLIC churches, in which the authentic letters of the apostles are still recited: and these APOSTOLIC churches are evidently churches founded by the apostles themselves, as contra-distinguished from minor churches founded only by their successors; for he immediately afterward explains himself by enumerating the churches of Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and Rome. But of necessity this advice implies, that the inquirer after sound doctrine would find in these APOSTOLIC churches what he would *not* find in any other inferior churches: and the matters, which he would find in these APOSTOLIC churches for the settling of his faith, are distinctly specified to be the very authentic letters of the apostles; *ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum*.

\* Tertull. de Præscript. adv. Hær. § xiv. p. 108. 109.

What then must we consistently understand by these *very authentic letters of the apostles*?

If we understand by them *accurate transcripts of the original autographs*, we shall be reduced, by the tenour of Tertullian's argument, to the manifest absurdity of supposing, that at the latter end of the second century, no churches possessed transcripts of the original autographs, save those APOSTOLIC churches to which the letters were directly addressed: for it is clear that Tertullian would never have thought of sending his inquirer *specially* and *exclusively* to the APOSTOLIC churches, if the very same satisfactory information might have been gained from any other *inferior* church. Hence, the bare reason of the thing makes it evident, that the *ipsæ authenticæ literæ* could not have been mere accurate transcripts of the original autographs. But, if they were not *transcripts*, they must have been *the autographs themselves*.

1. Accordingly, this conclusion perfectly agrees both with the whole context and with the evidently necessary tenour of Tertullian's argument.

The learned father sends a curious inquirer after doctrinal truth to the APOSTOLIC churches, rather than to any other churches which were not immediately founded by the apostles themselves. *Why* does he thus send him to the former, rather than to the latter? Because, in the APOSTOLIC churches, he might satisfy his curiosity by an actual inspection of the identical autographs of the apostles: whereas, in *other* churches *not* founded by the apostles, though he might meet with numerous transcripts made from these autographs, he would peradventure be disposed to question their strict accuracy. The various Achaian churches, for instance, would have transcripts of the two epistles to the Corinthians: but the autographs would be deposited with the APOSTOLIC church of Corinth. In a similar manner, the several churches of Macedon and proconsular Asia and Italy would have transcripts of the several epistles to the Philippians and Thessalonians and Ephesians and Romans: but the autographs would be deposited with the APOSTOLIC churches of Philippi and Thessalonica and Ephesus and Rome. Hence says Tertullian to his inquirer, If you are in Macedon, you may resort to Philippi and Thessalonica; if in Italy, to Rome; if in Achaia, to Corinth:

if in proconsular Asia, to Ephesus: for, in each of these APOSTOLIC churches, a privilege which churches *not* founded by the apostles are unable to claim, you will find the identical authentic letters, that is to say (as the sense imperiously requires), the identical autographs of the apostles themselves.

2. The present conclusion is confirmed, if it need any confirmation, by a subsequent phrase of Tertullian, which occurs in the course of the same general passage

In his character of a catholic as opposed to all innovating heretics, he speaks of possessing, from the very authors, the firm originals. *Habeo origines firmas ab ipsis autoribus*. Now, when both the argument and the entire context are considered, it is hard to say what he can mean by these *firm originals from the authors themselves*, if he do not mean *the apostolic autographs*.

II. The existence of the apostolic autographs, in the time of Tertullian, draws after it a very important philological consequence: namely, that the apostolic letters were originally written in Greek.

Tertullian repeatedly intimates, that St. Paul employed the Greek language in the composition of his epistles. Now, this intimation might, in the abstract, be disputed: but, if the autographs of the apostles were in his time still preserved in the apostolic churches, any error on the part of such a man as Tertullian, in regard to the language of these autographs, seems well nigh impossible. For a mere mechanical inspection of the autographs would verify their language: and even if Tertullian had carelessly hazarded an inaccurate assertion in consequence of his never having seen the autographs *himself*, he must forthwith have learned his mistake from some one of the many persons who *had* inspected them; and, in that case, he would doubtless have corrected it. Or, at any rate, if *he* had neglected to make a formal retractation, we may be morally sure, that some *other* writer would have exposed his singular mistake: inasmuch as the autographs could not have existed to the end of the second century in those apostolic churches to which there was evidently a continual resort, without at the same time their particular language being known almost universally.

Hence, if I have proved, that the *ipsæ authenticæ literæ*,

which a curious inquirer at the end of the second century could find *no where* save in the APOSTOLIC churches *alone*, must thence inevitably mean *the autographs of the apostles* : I have also proved, through the joint medium of that circumstance and the positive evidence of Tertullian, that the apostolic epistles were originally written in Greek.

III. I subjoin the Latin original, that the reader may form a better judgment respecting the propriety of the foregoing remarks.

Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsentur, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia? Habes Corinthum. Si non longe es à Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque autoritas præsto est.



II. Methodism in York. From the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, for July and August 1827.

The darkness which overspread the United Kingdom at the commencement of the eighteenth century, was not an iota less deep or intense in York than elsewhere. Perhaps indeed it was more palpable here than in some other places. In those days it might be said,—

“That here and there, a twinkling star described,  
Serv’d but to show how dark was all beside.”

In 1747, eight years after the birth of Methodism, we find the confessor John Nelson, if not actually in the city, at least preaching in the suburbs. He preached at Heworth-Moor, near the Northern barrier, on Good Friday, and gave notice that he should repeat the service on the Sunday morning following. He was however prevented by a riotous mob. He went thereupon to Acomb, a village on the opposite side of York, and was assaulted and maltreated by the beasts of the people, who were manifestly



in league with the strong man armed. The cruelties practised, and the blasphemies uttered, it is unnecessary to repeat; they are written in his Journal,—and they are written elsewhere. This heated and intemperate opposition was calculated to bring the matter into inquiry, and would have given longer life to falsehood and error than could otherwise have belonged to them. As it was, nothing was wanting but public attention; and from that hour forward whatever of truth was in the word preached, must have been the savor of life unto life, or of death unto death. We cannot, and we ought not, as a body, to forget, that truths which are now preached in many pulpits beside our own, were then the occasion of the wildest outcry against men in whose steps we aim to tread; and who then, whatever is the case now, stood alone in the face of the storm, to publish redemption through the blood of Christ, the forgiveness of sins. At Acomb, and at Heworth, we have two good Chapels, and two excellent, though small, Societies.

In 1743, Mr. Wesley, on his journey, stopped at Poppleton; (or as it is spelled Pophlington;) but he only conversed upon divine things to the inmates of the house, and did not offer to preach. It was not till February, 1747, that he preached at Acomb: (which was the germ of the future Circuit;) several from York attended the preaching; and he then formed them into a Class: for he says, “I spoke to a few who were desirous to join heart and hand together in seeking the kingdom of God.” The Leader of this Class was Thomas Staddon: he lived in Acomb, and came weekly to meet the infant York Society. The place of its meeting was in Mr. Stodhard’s house, at the bottom of the Beddern; and there, too, when a Preacher could be obtained, the little congregation assembled to hear. This Mr. Stodhard was grandfather to our lately deceased friend of the same name, distinguished for his talents in sacred music.

In 1748, the elder Mr. Stodhard became the Leader of the Class, which at that time only numbered twelve members. In his house the first Love-feast was held: Mr. Wesley conducted it; and only thirteen persons were present. The prospects of the Society opened before them; the place became too strait for them; and they hired a room

in a house called the Hole-in-the-wall. It had once been one of the Religious houses attached to the Minister. This building, and many in its neighbourhood, have been long since taken down. It was attached to the north-west end of the Minister, and derived its name from an aperture, or oriel in the wall ; as if originally designed for a window, or a door. The building had its underground vaults ; the entrance to which was remarkable for two strong oaken doors, only six inches apart, about which strange and dark rumours have gone : with what degree of truth they were mixed up it is impossible now to say. In all probability, these vaults had been dungeons in the Bishop's prison ; and these doors designed for additional security, rather than, as reported, intended to crush a victim to death between them. Be this as it may, the house was now devoted to better purposes ; the hand of the Lord was upon the people and the pastors for good ; and after a time this tent became too small ; and they pitched in a larger room in the Pump-yard, at the top of the shambles. Meanwhile Mr. Wesley had begun to visit York in the course of his annual journeys ; and in this city, as well as elsewhere, he had to encounter persecution ; once in particular, while he was preaching in Mr. Stodhard's house, the mob broke the windows, and the very furniture, with stones. This violence was then common, through all the land : the servants of the Prince of the Air fought for their master. At length it was felt, that an appeal to law was necessary ; for to say nothing of the unbridled fury of the mob, the very forms of justice were resorted to for the purposes of oppression ; and it is on record, that one Edward Greenfield, a Cornish man, was committed to prison as a vagabond, on account of his impudence ; for he said that his sins were forgiven him ! For the like offence, or some other equally within the meaning of the statutes, others, although landsmen, were pressed on board men of war ; and, a few were carried away as soldiers. A trial was carried from Sheffield to York ; and as it went against the persecutors, peace was established in this county. It would appear, however, that the swell continued after the storm. In 1752, Mr. Wesley says in his Journal, "Some of our company had dreadful forebodings of what was to be at York : a worthy Justice had caused to be cried about the streets, stuck up in

public places, and even thrown into many houses, the comparison between the Papists and Methodists. Perhaps this might be the occasion of some bitter curses which were given us, almost as soon as we entered the gates. But the vain words of those Rabshakehs returned into their own bosoms. I began preaching at six ; the chapel was filled with hearers, and with the presence of God. The opposers opened not their mouth. The mourners blessed God for consolation." May 5th, 1753, he repeated his visit, and the season was on many accounts a remarkable one. A change in the behaviour of all he met with was observable : for he was treated, not only with civility, but with respect. "Many of the rich and honourable crowded in among us," says he. Contrary to his usual custom, which was that of inflexibly adhering to his arrangements, he postponed, or relinquished for the time, his journey into Lincolnshire, that he might prolong his stay in York. "It was a day of power," he adds ; "God as it were bowed the heavens and came down. The flame of love went before him ; the rocks were broken in pieces ; and the mountains flowed down at his presence." He does not give us any minute particulars. From whatever cause, the next notice of York is not till June, 1756 ; and then nothing remarkable transpired. He observes that the Society is a rich one ; and that he fears this city will become the Capua of Methodist Preachers.

Ten years passed away from the period of John Nelson's visit, and in 1757 a new era in the history of Methodism in York commenced. Mr. Wesley began a subscription for a preaching-house ; and the site determined upon was in what is called Peaseholm Green, near the Wool market. He had not contemplated a large erection, for he calls it "a commodious room." In July of this year he preached in the open space between the Hotel on one side, and the north range of houses in Blake Street on the other. Some little rudeness was offered, but not much. On the 13th of March, 1758, he preached in the shell of the new house, which, probably for want of money, proceeded slowly to its completion ; for he still calls it a shell, in 1759. At that time the York Circuit extended to Hull, and along the coast to Whitby embracing across the country all the intermediate places. There was one sermon in a fortnight,

or one in three weeks, delivered in York. In 1760 the Preachers regularly rode a circuit of three hundred miles. In the months of June, 1761, 63. and 64, we find Mr. Wesley repeating his visits; and though no remarkable notice is recorded, the work was regularly advancing, with the exception of one short period of declension. He invited the leading members to urge with him the prayer of faith, and it was heard. April 28, 1766, he says, "I was thoroughly tired on my arrival; but after preaching, and meeting the Society, my strength quickly returned." Thus was he upheld of God.

July 20, 1766, he mentions a circumstance which, it will be gratifying to the reader to have related more at length than it is probable Mr. Wesley himself knew it. At that time, the Rev. Mr. Cordeux was incumbent of the living of St. Saviour's; and he warned his congregation against hearing "that vagabond Wesley preach." Mr. Wesley came to the city on a Saturday, preached in Peaseholm-Green chapel, and again on the Sunday morning; in the forenoon of that day he went to St. Saviour's church, dressed in his canonicals. The Clergyman in the course of reading the prayers saw a stranger cleric, and sent an officer to invite him to take the pulpit. He accepted the invitation, and took his text from the Gospel of the day, Matthew vii. 21: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." After service the vicar asked the clerk, if he knew who the stranger was: "Sir," said he, "he is the vagabond Wesley, of whom you warned us." "Aye, indeed," was the reply, "we are trapped; but never mind, we had a good sermon." The Dean heard of the affair, and threatened to lay a complaint before the Archbishop. Mr. Cordeux, afraid of the consequences, took an early opportunity, when some occasion brought him into the presence of his Grace, to tell him, that he had allowed Mr. Wesley to occupy his pulpit. "And you did right," said the Prelate. The matter of the complaint was never more heard of; and Mr. Cordeux was so far from repenting of what he had done, that some years afterwards he made a second offer of his pulpit, and Mr. Wesley preached upon the eight beatitudes. An aged disciple, who still remains, and who was present on this occasion, says, that Mr. Wesley took occasion "



remark on the words, "Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,"—"Perhaps no man in England knows more of what this means than I do."

In 1770, Mr Wesley found the Society more alive and prosperous than he had known it; and says, it was a busy happy day he spent with them.

There is a hint in his Journal of June 26, 1772, that on his arrival he found himself labouring under a disease, frequently produced by severe exercise on horseback: but he had not time to take thought for himself, and God took care of him. It is probable that he found the Society in the state in which he had last left it; for he makes no record; and the same remark applies to his next reported visit, which was not till 1777. In the preceding year it was the general conviction, that the accommodation at Peaseholm-Green chapel was too limited; and it was esteemed desirable that two side galleries should be added. I am favoured by Mr. Burdekin (author of Mr. Spence's Life) with the sight of a very curious document: it is the original list of subscribers on that occasion, in which Mr. Robert Spence appears as a contributor of 5*s.*: a sum which will create a smile on the lips of those who remember his liberality in his older and more prosperous days. The amount of contribution was 21*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*, the debt incurred 78*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*; of all which a most minute account is given. The balance of 57*l.* was matter of deep concern, and a petition was sent to Conference asking permission to beg in other Circuits for relief. One would think from all this, that Capua had declined in wealth and liberality; but the fact is, the nation itself at that time was poor.

Mr. Wesley's visit to York, in 1780, created the more interest in consequence of an attack made upon him as a pensioner, who had defended the King. Strange reverse of circumstances! The man, himself unchanged in principles, who had been persecuted for dissatisfaction, was insulted as a court sycophant. So it was with him, and so it has often been with his followers. If we suffer reproach, it is in good company.

He found the Society in a lively state in 1781 "I know not when I have seen such a spirit among them: they seemed to be all hungering and thirsting after righteous-



ness." The friends ventured this year to build a Preacher's house at Peaseholm-Green, attached to the chapel.

We find him in June, 1782, at York on his eightieth birth-day; and he celebrates the goodness of God which had upheld him. He did not return till the same month in 1784, and then speaks rejoicingly of the comfort he had with this Society. In May, 1786, he says, "I have not for many years known this Society in so prosperous a condition. This is undoubtedly owing, first, to the exact discipline which has been for some time observed among them: and next, to the strongly and continually exhorting believers to go on to perfection." Once, and only once more, he came to York; it was on May 25th, 1788. He was then an old man, and well stricken in years; a shock of corn fully ripe for the garner of God. On one of these his last visits he mentioned from the pulpit that Mr. Brown, of Haddington, on his death bed, had, in reckoning up the mercies of God, acknowledged His having kept him from "following that man of sin, John Wesley." So he expressed himself, said the venerable Preacher; but, added he, rubbing his hands, and looking upward, "I hope to meet John Brown in heaven, and to join him in the praises of God and the Lamb." The founder of Methodism was removed, but the building went on; for its erection was in higher hands.

In 1798 Mr. Entwisle was stationed here; and many remember his remarking in a Society Meeting, "We have now one hundred and eighty members in York. Let us use all holy diligence, and God may revive his work, and increase us to two hundred before Conference!" There are now, at the distance of only twenty-eight years, from that period, at least one thousand in the city alone.

At the beginning of the present century the York Circuit had been greatly reduced within its original dimensions. In 1749, there were only twenty-two Circuits in the whole Connexion, of which number this was one. In 1770 Scarborough was separated from it, Hull in 1771; and from that year, and up to 1776, Scarborough ceased to be the head of Circuit, having probably been in the interval united to Hull: at the last mentioned period we have in the Minutes, York, Hull, and Scarborough. Thirsk was first constituted the head of a Circuit in 1774. The next

offshoot from York was Pocklington, in 1786 ; the next Malton, in 1794 ; then Ripen, in 1795, and Easingwold, in 1800. These new Circuits were some of them in process of time divided and subdivided, and the word of God ran very swiftly. The little one had become a thousand. A multitude both of men and women believed, being won to the obedience of faith by simple and unlettered men ; for the might and the wisdom were of God, and not of man. Persecution was now no more ; it had given place to prejudice and contempt, of which the Society in this city had to bear a very sufficient measure. At this time, and for a period long after, our community owed much to the happy influence of Mr. Robert Spence ; a man endued with much of the wisdom that is from above ; for he hated strife only less than he hated sin. His "wisdom was first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." Those who knew most of him will best perceive how every line, in this description of divine wisdom, was traced in his holy character. This remarkable man was a kind of presiding influence in all the meetings, and in the general conduct of the Society. Before 1805, the Peaseholm-Green chapel was found insufficient to accommodate the increasing congregation. A larger place of worship was greatly needed ; but much difficulty occurred in carrying into effect the wishes of the friends, as to the building of a new chapel. The place fixed upon belonged to two different proprietors ; and worse still, a small angle was leased by an Attorney, who had failed in business. The Solicitor in the bankruptcy, and the surviving assignee, were decidedly opposed to Methodism, and the ground was occupied by a stable without right of way, its only access being through a house leased from the corporation. There was no proceeding without this angle, and the thought of building was therefore abandoned for the time. When such a thing was least expected, the Solicitor, of his own accord, made an offer to sell the premises ; the offer was immediately accepted, and that part of the difficulty vanished. The two proprietors came to terms ; but still there was some doubt of the right of way. New-Street had been called Davy-Hall, and was a cluster of dwellings, where persons refusing to take their freedom had established themselves ; and it was a question, whether, residing

where they did, it could be demanded from them. The corporation, to put down this retreat, made a purchase of the place, and projected a street from Davy-Gate to Coney-Street. The right of way therefore was with them. It would not be difficult to describe some very vexatious and unfair attempts, to obstruct the building, and to render it inaccessible when it should be completed, by procuring an order of the corporation to that effect ; but there are things which it is a thousand times better to forget than to record, and these are among the number. The building was completed ; it was dedicated to the service of the Lord ; and we trust the day is far distant when the last benefit of its erection shall be experienced, or the latest of the divine manifestations be vouchsafed within its walls. Except a long and trying litigation about its liability to be assessed for poor's rates, no molestation or disturbance has taken place. The chapel is nearly, though not quite, of a square form ; the front wall being the arc of a large circle. It is capable of accommodating fifteen hundred sitters, and has admitted two thousand hearers. There are attached to it a large vestry, and two houses, one of them an excellent dwelling for the superintendent Preacher ; the other is used for Class rooms, and other purposes. The debt, which is far from being overwhelming, is in the course of being gradually liquidated. The attendance is steady and large. The undertaking was undoubtedly a very great one ; but it was not long before it appeared that it was of the Lord. The congregation increased rapidly, and there were three services every Sunday, and two beside through the week. The progress of the work was thenceforward steady and considerable. Year after year passed away, and each had its spiritual seedtime and harvest. As yet the Methodists had never had preaching in church-hours, nor had they ever received the Sacrament at the hands of their own Preachers. The Plan of Pacification was acted upon. It was no secret, however, that many never received the Lord's Supper at all ; many did not attend the Church, and pleaded in excuse that they had no security that the Minister should be one under whom they could profit. Many of the friends were wishful to enjoy both of these privileges,—Forenoon service, and the Eucharist in our own chapel. The Trustees objected to concede what was wished ; and as a measure of accommodation to all parties, these friends resolved upon building a second chapel, which they set about in

1815. The site fixed upon was in the south-west division of the city, and near the Skeldergate postern. Perhaps it was not the best that might have been desired ; but having been determined upon, it was made an oblong square, and is a neat commodious place, seating eight hundred and eighty persons, and capable of admitting one thousand. After the example of New-Street chapel, it has a fair proportion of free sittings. The purposes of the erection were answered ; peace was secured ; every one acted as he thought good ; and prosperity was uninterrupted. For a long time only one Sunday forenoon congregation assembled, till, in 1824, New-Street chapel was opened at 10, A. M. ; but before that time the Sacrament had been administered there. Between the Conferences of 1824 and 1826, a very blessed increase to the Society had taken place, in which the late Mr. Stoner was an eminent instrument. Both of the chapels were well attended ; and it was felt and acknowledged, that in the populous district of Walmgate something further should be done to publish the Gospel of the Son of God. The project had long been entertained, and it was now powerfully revived. Many disappointments, many discouragements presented themselves ; but the necessity was an urgent one, and the long-contemplated attempt was brought to an issue. A piece of ground was purchased, having some old buildings on part of it, and a vacant space behind them. On this space the chapel was built ; and in August 1826, it was consecrated to its sacred purposes, by the word and prayer.

The chapel is of a somewhat peculiar structure. The pulpit is raised only a few feet from the floor ; one third of the area nearest to the pulpit is occupied before and on each side by free seats, screened by a partition four feet high from the passage, which runs across the chapel from its entrance to the opposite wall. The entrance is in the side of the chapel : the pews are built behind the passage, rising step by step from the floor. Four hundred and eighty-four sitters can be accommodated, and as many as six hundred hearers have been at one service in the chapel. It is peculiarly well fitted for hearing ; and with a less expense of voice to the speaker, than most other places of worship ; and as it is without ornament, it is a most economical structure. Beneath the gallery, and by entrances from behind, there are three apartments ; one for a vestry, and two for the chapel-keeper. The attendance is already encourag-



ing, and the ardent hope and prayer of God's people among us is, that the Redeemer may here see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied.

We have in the city (to say nothing of those in the Circuit) two large and flourishing Sunday-Schools, and an excellent building for each. There is a benevolent Society, and a Tract-lending Society, an Auxiliary and Juvenile Missionary Society. In the Circuit there are besides those mentioned, nineteen chapels settled on the Methodist plan. Besides these, there are several places, such as School-rooms, in which our small Societies worship; and the little hills of Zion rejoice on every side.

At the Conference of 1825, the York Circuit was divided, Tadcaster being erected into the head of one of the divisions; and to it were attached nine country places. It received farther additions from the Knaresborough and Selby Circuits, and promises to be a field which the Lord hath blessed.

DANIEL M'ALLUM.

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III. Bishop Hall's account of his Daily Occupation. From the *Memoirs of his Life, Writings, and Sufferings*, by the Rev. John Jones.

“ ‘Every day is a little life, and our whole life is but a day repeated; whence it is that old Jacob numbers his life by days; and Moses desires to be taught this point of holy arithmetic, to number not his years but his days. Those therefore that dare lose a day, are dangerously prodigal; those that dare mispend it, desperate. We can teach others by ourselves: let me tell your lordship how I would pass my days, whether common or sacred; and that you, or whosoever others overhearing me, may either approve my thriftiness, or correct my errors. When sleep is rather driven away than leaves me, I would ever awake with God. My first thoughts are for him: if my heart be early seasoned with his presence, it will savour of him all day after. While my body is dressing, not with an effeminate curiosity, nor yet with rude neglect, my mind addresses itself to her ensuing task, bethinking what is to be done, and in what order, and marshalling, as it may, my hours with my work. That done, after some meditation, I walk up to my masters and companions—my books; and sitting amongst them with the best contentment, I dare not reach forth my hand to salute any of them, till I have first looked up to heaven, and craved favour of him, to whom all my studies are duly referred; without whom I can neither profit nor



labour. After this, out of no over great variety, I call forth those which may best fit my occasions, wherein I am not too scrupulous of age: sometimes I put myself to school to one of those ancients whom the Church hath honoured with the name of Fathers, whose volumes I confess not to open without a secret reverence of their holiness and gravity:—sometimes to those latter doctors, which want nothing but age to make them classical—ALWAYS TO GOD'S BOOKS. That day is lost whereof some hours are not improved in those divine monuments; others I turn over out of choice, these out of duty. Ere I can have sat unto weariness, my family, having now overcome all household distractions, invites me to our common devotions, not without some short preparation. These heartily performed, send me up with a more strong and cheerful appetite to my former work, which I find made easy to me by intermission and variety. One while mine eyes are busied, another while my hand, and sometimes my mind takes the burden from them both. One hour is spent in textual divinity, another in controversy; histories relieve them both. When the mind is weary of other labours, it begins to undertake her own; sometimes it meditates and winds up for future use; sometimes it lays forth her conceits into present discourse; sometimes for itself, often for others. Neither know I whether it works or plays in these thoughts. I am sure no sport hath more pleasure, no work more use; only the decay of a weak body makes me think these delights insensibly laborious. Before my meals and after, I let myself loose from all thoughts, and would forget that I ever studied. Company, discourse, recreations, are now seasonable and welcome. I rise not immediately from my trencher to my books, but after some intermission. After my latter meal my thoughts are slight, only my memory may be charged with the task of recalling what was committed to her custody in the day; and my heart is busy in examining my hands and mouth, and all other senses of that day's behaviour. The evening is come: no tradesman doth more carefully take in his wares, clear his shop-board, and shut his windows, than I would shut up my thoughts and clear my mind. That student shall live miserable which, like a camel, lies down under his burden. All this done, calling together my family, we end the day with God. Such are my common days.















